

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VOLUME XII AUGUST 5-20 1961

NUMBER

No 272-3

B E O G R A D

Published by

THE FEDERATION OF
YUGOSLAV JOURNALISTS

*

Chief Editor and Director
MILORAD MIJOVIĆ

Price per copy 32 cents
Issued twice a month

POLITICS • ECONOMICS • LAW • SCIENCE • CULTURE

From the Contents:

THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION
Juraj Andrassy

OBSERVATIONS ON BELGRADE CONFERENCE
V. M.

YUGOSLAV-GHANAIAN COMMUNIQUE

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
Janez Stanovnik

Disarmament-obstacles and possibilities
Leo Mates

SOCIAL STANDARD 1961—1965
Berislav Šefer

EDVARD KARDELJ: ON THE PREPARATION OF THESESES FOR THE NEW CONSTITUTION

THE CONFERENCE OF THE UNCOMMITTED

By Jože SMOLE

WHEREAS immediately after the Second World War the entire international life had mainly been concentrated along the East-West line, later, with the liberation of Asia and Africa and the accelerated process of emancipation of the small and medium-size countries, international life acquired a new, North-South dimension.

This new dimension is the result of the profound historic changes in the world. Before the Second World War, there was a system of rule of big and colonial powers. At the time when the United Nations Organization was being created, the champions of this system reckoned that it would be maintained. This can clearly be seen from the provisions they introduced in the UN Charter and the World Organization's mechanism. However, the victorious anti-colonial movements and the other processes of the awakening, the liberation and emancipation of peoples in all the continents, created a new situation. A new force emerged which after the end of the

Second World War had not been reckoned with. New states appeared on the world stage, states which with growing energy demanded that they should be given an equal position in the world.

Nobody, of course, underestimates the weight and acuteness of the problems in East-West relations. This does not only apply to disarmament, the German issue, Berlin and similar problems. The East-West bloc differences affect and lie heavy on the entire international life. In a particular way, these differences also affect the sphere of North-South relations and through their existence, i.e. through their interference, they often obscure and even distort the essence of the acute problems in North-South relations.

With the exception of outstanding world issues which are the direct consequence of the Second World War as, for example, the German question, over which the East and West have conflicted in a most dangerous manner thus directly jeopardizing world peace, all present-day acute world problems pertain

to the field of North-South relations. These are the problems of the anti-colonial struggle, the emancipation of peoples and the settling of relations between the liberated countries, on the one side, and the former metropolises and great powers, on the other, and the problem of development of the backward areas of the world. To these should be added the problems created by the existence of both acute and potent sources of possible conflicts, such as the Congo, the Algerian war, Cuba, Laos and others.

If, a few years ago, it was still possible to maintain that the differences between East and West determine the nature and course of international developments, today it is clear that world developments are increasingly influenced by North-South relations as well. This influence will continue to grow and so will the obligation to solve the problems within these relations, for these problems directly affect the immediate interests of the majority of mankind.

This new dimension in international life also reflects other great changes in the world. New forces, which are strongly opposed to the bloc polarization of the world, are steadily gaining in strength and have already grown into a non-aligned world which is increasingly asserting itself as a material and political force.

The world of today is no longer the world it was immediately after the end of the Second World War, a world divided between East and West. It is also the world of the North and South, and also the world of the new and independent states which are fighting for new relations, different from those established in the days of the domination of the colonial and big powers.

It is the common views of the members of this new world which should come to fuller expression in concrete, everyday activity, and especially in the fields directly affecting the rights of nations and the interests of world peace.

So far, the direct influence of the non-aligned countries on acute world problems has not been proportionate to the objective position and strength of the non-aligned countries in the world. There are several reasons why this has been so, but the basic reason is, undoubtedly, the lack of co-ordination. The most eloquent example of the lack of such co-operation was that of the Congo. We know that an utterly absurd situation had been created. The United Nations, which is dominated by an anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic majority, was made to serve the interests of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The joint activity of the uncommitted countries should be expanded and intensified in every respect so that their constructive attitude could be more strongly felt in the consideration of world problems.

From certain circles of some great powers comes the objection: why engage the small countries in world problems? The small countries are recommended to heed their own internal problems and leave the world problems to the great powers.

Such objections and "advice" are the reflection of old conceptions dating from the time when the great powers ruled the world and decided on the future of other nations. The peace of the world is no

longer and can no longer be the concern of only the limited number of large states. The world problems equally affect the interests of the big and all other countries. Consequently, it is not only the right but also the duty of the small and medium-size countries to be actively and directly concerned with the crucial world problems and to influence their solution. In view of their objective attitude, as a result of which the non-aligned countries are not encumbered with any detrimental ballast from the past, these countries are capable of understanding the dangers threatening peace and the requirements of world development more clearly and comprehensively than others. It is essential that the uncommitted countries should take part in the solution of international problems if any progress is to be made in this direction. There are several elements which illustrate the need for far closer co-operation of the uncommitted countries, the most important of which are the following three:

First, the bloc policy has reached a complete deadlock. It is unable to solve any open international issue. The approach to world problems from the position of blocs, as shown by practice so far, is incompatible with the interests of world peace, for it constantly creates situations which endanger the basic interests of mankind.

Secondly, the uncommitted countries have already asserted themselves, and the uncommitted policy has already been defined. A new force has begun to act in world politics. With the appearance of the uncommitted policy, a new prospect has been opened up before the international community.

Thirdly, the changed objective position in the contemporary world, one of the most positive characteristics of which is the very appearance and affirmation of the uncommitted countries, has still not come to full expression in the concrete discussion of acute world problems. This is primarily due to the insufficiently co-ordinated views of the uncommitted countries. They all hold basically similar views on world problems, but so far they have not sufficiently exploited this great similarity of their views for formulating joint positions on particular problems and for undertaking concrete actions.

The lack of a more systematic co-ordination of efforts of the uncommitted countries so far, has been taken ample advantage of by the well-organized bloc forces. Through different manoeuvres and by relying on their bloc mechanisms, the colonial, neo-colonial and all other undemocratic forces, in many situations, as for example in the Congo, disregarded completely the decisions of the United Nations and what is more, they even contrived to enlist the support of the World Organization in the implementation of their anti-democratic plans and intentions. Thus, unfortunately, the conspiracy against the independence and freedom of individual peoples only met with the protests of the peaceloving world public, while no sufficiently energetic and sufficiently co-ordinated actions had been undertaken by the peaceloving countries to put an end to the activity of those forces which still attempt to decide on the future of other peoples and of the entire world.

However, it is not merely a question of eliminating such alarming occurrences in contemporary international life. The actual task is far greater, wider and far more responsible. It is essential that all the peace-loving countries, the uncommitted countries in particular, should intensify their joint efforts so as to create the necessary prerequisites for the actual solution of outstanding international problems and for a new atmosphere in world politics which would pave the way for constructive efforts with a view to stabilizing world peace.

A conference of the uncommitted countries is imperative for the mere fact that the world problems also infringe their interests. The problems within the scope of East-West relations are not only the concern of the two opposed groups of states. They are equally the concern of the uncommitted countries, for the effects of the mounting tension between East and West are detrimental to the world community, as a whole, and consequently, affect all its members. Apart from this, the uncommitted countries are directly interested in the solution of the difficult problems within the scope of North-South relations, problems which are becoming increasingly important and acute. They can no longer allow that the solving of the problems in North-South relations be delayed because of the bloc antagonisms and the growing tension between East and West. Nor can they any longer tolerate the practice through which the cold war and bloc antagonisms are distorting the essence of North-South problems.

Co-ordination between the uncommitted countries is imperative if the United Nations Organization is to recover its authority and prestige and play a constructive role in international development. This could easily be achieved, for the anti-imperialistic, anti-colonial and peaceloving forces form the majority in the United Nations.

In world affairs, the uncommitted countries ought to be given the position which they are objectively entitled to. The coming conference of the heads of the uncommitted countries will have an enormous significance in this respect in view of the number of countries represented and the positive conceptions they advocate.

The wide publicity, which the pending Belgrade conference has already received in the world, reflects different ideas, tendencies and views. The entire world press attaches great importance to the conference, though individual papers and commentators have adopted different attitudes towards it depending, of course, on the political forces whose interests they advocate.

Progressive, democratic and truly peaceloving forces offer active support to the conference, expecting that it will prove to be a notable contribution to the efforts for the elimination of the danger of war, the prevention of the further deterioration of East-West relations, the solution of outstanding problems and the development of international relations on democratic bases.

Those factors who disagree with the uncommitted policy but are aware of the responsibility towards

their country and the world community, have adopted a correct attitude towards the pending Belgrade conference. This is also reflected in the correct comments on the conference in the columns of newspapers which speak on behalf of these factors.

An entirely negative view on the conference has been expressed by that part of the world press which acts as loudspeaker to the colonialists, various aggressive and reactionary forces which still believe in the possibility of checking the clock of history.

Nobody, of course, is surprised by the tendentious and malevolent writing of that part of the press. It is interesting to note, however, that these papers, in spite of their extreme effort to elaborate their propaganda argumentation, have hardly gone any further from their old "arguments" and are still forced to use falsehoods and insinuations. In fact, they are repeating the same old stories about the uncommitted countries and their intentions. Even with regard to methods and political speculations, these papers are repeating what they did in the past. Just as at the time when preparations for the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung were under way, they had reckoned with the differences between individual participant-countries and prophesized the failure of the conference, today they exaggerate certain differences in the views of some uncommitted countries. And just as the forces standing behind these papers had failed to change the course of the Bandung Conference, their present dreams to change the proceedings and out-

A forum for free exchange of ideas on international political and economic problems. Articles and documents about Yugoslavia.

REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Published by the Federation of Yugoslav Journalists fortnightly in six languages:

SERBO-CROAT
ENGLISH
FRENCH
GERMAN
RUSSIAN and
SPANISH

Exclusive articles by eminent Yugoslav and foreign authors

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

Annually	US \$ 3.40
Semiannually	US \$ 2.00
Per copy	16 Cents (payable in national currency)

Circulation Department
and Editorial Offices:

"Review of International Affairs"
G. Jovanova 16/III
P. O. Box 413
Belgrade, Yugoslavia

A SPECIMEN COPY WILL BE SENT ON REQUEST

come of the coming Belgrade conference will suffer the same fate.

The colonialists' manner of trying to present their narrow interests as interests of the West and of condemning anti-colonialism as an anti-Western orientation, is very well-known. Hence the assertion in their press that the conference of the leaders of the uncommitted countries will have a "purely anti-Western characteristic", that "in effect, it will not even be a real uncommitted conference, for it will serve the eastern bloc", that "it will be directed against western countries", etc. However, such inventions have daily a less and less effect, since even the public in the former colonial metropolises are increasingly aware that anti-colonialism on the one hand, and the attitude towards the West, individual western countries and their peoples and also their legitimate interests, on the other, are two entirely different matters.

In the negative writing about the conference there are many contradictions, and this is just one proof more that the entire argumentation used is unfounded. On the one hand, the uncommitted countries are openly

underestimated; they are said to be incapable of influencing vitally world affairs. On the other, it is asserted that the conference will be "dangerous for the West", that it will "deliver heavy blows to it", etc.

The miserable contents of such articles on the coming conference are also illustrated by the fact that they largely consist of the same old stories about the "third bloc". The purpose of such tendentious assertions which, in spite of authoritative statements by the leaders of the uncommitted countries, are still put forward in different forms and with different shades of meaning, is obvious. Such assertions are aimed at discrediting the uncommitted policy and creating an impression among the public that the bloc policy is the only realistic policy in the contemporary world.

However, we may well say that this sort of negative writing is a Sisyphean job, for the coming conference of the uncommitted countries is the result and reflection of the great historic changes in the contemporary world: the new place and the new role of peoples and countries in international politics.

DISARMAMENT — OBSTACLES AND POSSIBILITIES

By Leo MATES

THE DIFFICULTIES which have cropped up in connection with the disarmament talks since the collapse of the Paris summit meeting last year have not yet been overcome. On the contrary, the situation has deteriorated and the question of disarmament is passing through a grave crisis. As was announced, new proposals had been prepared for the Paris Conference with the aim of moving the talks away from the deadlock to which they had been brought. But the disagreements which obstructed the progress of negotiations before the Paris Conference not only remain, but are even deeper today. Prospects for the relaxation of international tension which seemed likely towards the end of last year, after the elections in the United States, have given way to further deterioration of the political atmosphere this year, and as far as the resumption of disarmament talks is concerned, the situation has become so much worse that not even agreement on the framework and the forum for the continuation of the talks has yet been reached.

Just as it has always been in the long history of efforts to free mankind from the material and political burden of the arms race, the prospects of success fluctuate according to the changeable international and political climate. It is quite comprehensible that the progress of the disarmament talks should depend on international tension, in view of the interaction of armament and

the world situation. This interaction should, of course, be interpreted not only in terms of the influence of political relations on armament, but also in those of the effect of the arms race on the further deterioration of the international atmosphere. It is this twofold interaction which makes it so difficult to find a way out of the impasse. As a matter of fact, even aspects which are apparently only technicalities of the complex problem of disarmament cause difficulties, because they cannot be solved merely on a technical level. They are essentially political problems, depending on political developments — a field where disarmament and the general situation are closely intertwined.

Thus it is understandable that in such a situation even decisions reached on certain specific questions under more favourable conditions again become a matter of dispute. In other words, as in similar situations, the talks have more or less returned to their starting point. Even such stable and complete solutions as mutual voluntary abstinence from nuclear tests are questioned. The tacit understanding on the limitation of the size of armed forces is practically abandoned. The forum of the ten-nation committee, formerly agreed upon, can obviously no longer be considered as suitable for the renewal of negotiations.

But what as far more important and dangerous is that there have been great changes in the

manner of treating the basic question: the place of war in the contemporary world. Although the outlook for the implementation of disarmament in the near future has never been rosy in recent years, it was nevertheless reassuring to mankind to know that, in spite of conflicts and lack of concrete results in the talks on disarmament, responsible statesmen were availing themselves of every opportunity to stress that they considered nuclear war to be lunacy. It began to appear that war as the eventual alternative to agreement no longer came into consideration in debates on controversial questions. Of course, it would be unthinkable that responsible statesmen could ignore, even in the present strained situation, the consequences of war for the whole world, or its even graver consequences for the belligerents. But on the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the danger of war is not only brought about by deliberate preparation for war, but that it may break out as the final result of continuously increased tension, in spite of all good intentions. As regards the disarmament talks, it is obvious that any allusion to the alternative of war (however undesirable it may be) arises such obstacles to agreement as to render it practically impossible to reach any satisfactory solution.

It is therefore indispensable to direct constructive debates on disarmament today to the easing of tension, and to introduce the element of objectivity into the talks, and thus strive for actual results, which can hardly be compatible with cold-war logic, regardless of subjective aspirations. To insist on the necessity and usefulness of the contribution of unengaged factors in the present situation does not necessarily imply that all participants in the controversy lack the will to free the world from the arms race and save it from war. The idea that countries outside the great powers cannot remain passive onlookers when vital questions which are the concern of all are being discussed (and disarmament is obviously such a question) is not an expression of distrust of any of the great powers or of a wish to reduce them or their policies to a common denominator. This concept is simply based on the experience of postwar developments, which have revealed how great are the obstacles in the way of direct understanding between the protagonists of the cold war. These developments have also shown how useful are the contributions of the unengaged countries in certain situations. Successful actions through the United Nations for the settlement of conflicts have never been launched without the active participation of those who were not actively engaged in these conflicts.

In putting forward their demand that they should not be treated as passive observers in the disarmament talks, the uncommitted countries have never pretended to be exceptionally well acquainted with the technique of armament, or endowed with any exceptional political wisdom. Their point of departure has always been based on the failure of the talks from which they

were excluded, and on the fact that their position in international relations enables them to contribute to the creation of an atmosphere which is necessary for constructive discussion. It should be stressed that the implementation of disarmament requires much less technical experience and skill in finding new formulas than ability to take a stand without depending on standards imposed by engagement in the cold war, with all its consideration for the prestige and reaction of the other side and other inevitable strictures and limitations. Strictly speaking, mere resistance to the widening of the circle of participants in the talks reflects a narrow outlook, resulting from the cold-war way of thinking.

Be that as it may, countries non-aligned with blocs and similar factors — unengaged, that is in the broadest sense of the word — exist in the world, and can act independently of the wishes or views of any of the protagonists on the international scene. These forces, unengaged in the cold war, but engaged to the utmost in the stabilization of peace and international co-operation, are, undoubtedly, a vital component in international relations. They are present as a moral force at the discussions from which they are formally excluded. And their formal exclusion is all the more incomprehensible for that reason.

But wherever the disarmament talks may be continued — in a narrow committee, at the General Assembly of the United Nations or in an augmented UNO commission, with the participation of all members, their starting point, in all probability, will again be the well-known controversy between the concept of total disarmament and the demand for restricted armament (partial disarmament).

In recent years, this controversy has been repeatedly by-passed by various complex plans, only to start the whole question all over again. Actually, total disarmament as the ultimate goal has never been controverted in principle by any side. All proposals which have been made so far, especially after the improvement of the international atmosphere in 1955, are acceptable when considered from an abstract point of view. The best illustration of this is the agreement reached at the meeting of the leaders of the big powers in Geneva in 1955, when the proposals of all four participants were adopted as a basis for discussion.

Difficulties began to appear, however, in the course of the concrete discussions in the sub-committee of the United Nations. They cropped up as obstacles, greater or smaller according to the international situation, and obstructed the way to practical understanding. The basic argument against the acceptance of total disarmament as the starting point was, in fact, due to mutual distrust, shown more or less openly through a range of formal arguments concerning control and various technicalities and details of procedure. But mutual distrust also underlies the arguments against partial disarmament, that is

to say, against the creation of a situation in which there would be extensive control, but the possibility of war would not be excluded, as through total disarmament. Thus the want of mutual confidence has emerged as the greatest stumbling block for both sides, and confidence cannot be imposed by arguments in favour of any theory regarded with distrust by the person to whom they are addressed.

It is obvious that concrete proposals for disarmament should not be appraised by their absolute value, or by the logic of the arguments put forward in favour of them in the polemics of the opponents. Their value is more or less commensurate with the amount of confidence they can generate, and by their contribution to the acceptance of effective agreements on disarmament. The ban on nuclear tests is not disarmament; it is only an emergency measure to protect the health of the people in all countries. But the ban itself and, still more, a formal agreement on it, can greatly contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of confidence. Consequently, the ban on nuclear tests constitutes an integral part of the general programme of disarmament, and it is one of the steps towards its achievement, not only because it makes it more difficult to develop new types of bombs, but also in view of its bearing on the complete discontinuance of atomic tests.

Partial disarmament, which always implies an intact nuclear potential for striking the adversary a deadly blow, is not disarmament in the proper sense. Disarmament, normally understood, means nothing short of the elimination of the material means for warfare. Consequently, as long as there exist material means for conducting a devastating nuclear war, it is senseless to speak of disarmament. But even so, partial measures undertaken within the framework of a general programme may help to reach the ultimate goal, since they are a step towards the creation of the necessary atmosphere of mutual trust. To burden

these measures with unwieldy controls is not only unjustified but unreasonable, because it destroys the most important element: the strengthening of confidence.

Effective disarmament, that is to say the abolition of the nuclear war potential, is impossible without proper control, a fact which cannot be called into question. Another indisputable fact is the value of restrictive measures which do not affect the basic capacity to conduct war with limited control or even without control. By maintaining itself without any control through a period of grave international crises, the ban on nuclear tests has disproved a library-full of expert studies. The one-sided and uncontrolled reduction of armed forces has never been at issue, so that the other side has always been at liberty to make similar reductions, a point which has never been at issue either. Yet days and even months have been spent on discussion about the need for control and restrictive measures.

The implementation of a general programme for disarmament which should begin with mutually restrictive measures, followed by the gradual introduction of such controls as are absolutely necessary and in proper proportion with the importance of each stage, is the only possible way towards disarmament and the only way that it can be carried into effect. The difficulties which still obstruct the implementation of this programme are not inherent in the programme itself, but are the result of the whole condition of international relations. But these relations are not unchangeable, for new elements and new progressive forces are constantly developing in them — forces which are striving to ease the present tension. As these new elements have not yet attained their full potential of constructive action, it is unjustified to presume that disarmament and international tension, interrelated as they are, constitute a vicious circle from which there is no escape.

THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

By Dr. Juraj ANDRASSY

AMONG the active motive forces which have influenced the course of events in the 19th and 20th centuries, the principle of the self-determination of nations has played a most important role. Although this term has only recently entered political phraseology, the idea that the people are the masters of their own destiny is much older, for it dates back to the early Middle Ages. In that period, when political conflicts within a state were under discussion,

the principle that the people were above the ruler (popular maior principle) was put forward in contrast with the opposite one declaring the authority of the rulers to be stronger than that of the people and even unlimited (principe maior populo.) Of course, the word 'people' did not imply the broad masses, who were deprived of all rights, although even these masses were occasionally involved.

The principle of self-determination was

introduced into international relations at the time of the French Revolution. Theoretically, it was laid down in the famous Declaration of the People's Rights, which was worked out by the Abbé Gregoire (1795). Clause 6 of this Declaration says: "Every nation has the right to organize and change the form of its own government" and clause 7 adds: "No nation has the right to interfere with the government of others", while clause 10, declaring "every nation is the master of its own territory" reminds us of the resolution adopted at the Seventh Session of the UNO General Assembly on the right of all peoples to use and exploit freely the natural riches on their own territories. The French Revolution proclaimed the principle of self-determination of nations and put it into practice (the Declaration referred to was never formally recognized) by holding plebiscites, in many of the countries conquered by the French army, so that the peoples there might determine the destiny of their own countries and the form of their own governments.

The ideas of the French Revolution fell into abeyance during the Napoleonic Wars. However, the order which was set up in Europe at the Vienna Congress as an antidote and protection against them could not stem the growing consciousness of the awakened nations. The principle of nationality and the demand for the creation of national states marked the course of the whole 19th century. On the basis of this principle Italy and Germany were unified and the Balkan peoples achieved freedom in their own national states. But another upheaval in the history of mankind was necessary before self-determination was proclaimed a general principle to be put into practice whenever there was an opportunity to do so. It appears as such in Wilson's Fourteen Points and, quite clearly and unambiguously, in Lenin's Declaration of 1917 on the rights of the peoples of Russia. Although this led to the setting up of new national states on the ruins of three European empires, and to the unification of peoples that had been disunited until then, the implementation was not consistent. Thus the map of Europe outlined at Versailles showed a great deal of inconsistency and injustice, of which that inflicted on Yugoslavia was particularly hurtful. Again plebiscites were held in some countries to enable the peoples to determine their own destinies.

But the justice which had been proclaimed so solemnly was restricted to a single continent — Europe. The peoples in the colonies were not recognized as having the right to self-determination, and the colonial system continued to dominate in world politics. When the events of that epoch are analyzed, it is seen that the right to self-determination was granted only to those nations that had struggled for their liberation and unification, and this recognition was commensurate with the degree of success of their struggle.

Thus, four decades ago, Yugoslavia was not strong enough to achieve the freedom and unifica-

tion of all the Yugoslav regions, so that their final unification was attained only thanks to a further protracted struggle.

During the whole period between the two world wars, the right of self-determination was a political principle which more than once appeared to serve as an instrument of the political game of the world powers, but which was never regarded as the right of every people, by international law. In fact, this right was not considered as applying to the peoples of the non-European countries which were under colonial rule, although the further progress and rise of colonialism was indeed checked, at least to some extent. The victorious great powers made a new division of their spheres of influence, with certain limitations, which they got round in devious ways. Thus they did not venture to divide the German colonies or the countries taken away from the Ottoman Empire among themselves but — under the pressure of public opinion and the influence of the October Revolution — they resorted to the system of trusteeship. In reality, this was another form of dividing up possessions and spheres of influence (the example of Japan after her withdrawal from the League of Nations is an excellent illustration); but the formal declarations and obligations towards the League of Nations marked these last attainments of colonialism with a different kind of importance. The well-being and development of the trust territories were proclaimed "the bounden duty of civilization" and these territories had to be governed according to certain rules and under international supervision.

The Second World War, although conducted in a different spirit, did not mean the end of colonialism. The Atlantic Charter contained the principle of the self-determination of nations, but later on in the course of the war these declarations were interpreted as not including colonial peoples. There were already indications, however, that colonialism was nearing its end: there were insistent demand for independence, accompanied more often than not by resistance and struggle.

There were two opposing attitudes at the San Francisco Conference. Some of the victorious countries still supported colonialism, but they were attacked from several sides. This accounts for the compromise formulae contained in the Charter, which each party could interpret in his own way. Even so, the text of the Charter marked a break with the past and the beginning of a new advance which is still in progress and still being fought for.

The Charter of the United Nations is both a political and a legal document. As a legal document it contains legal principles and legal rules to which raise the principle of self-determination to the rank of a general legal principle. The self-determination of nations figures in clause 1 of the Charter among the objectives of the United Nations, and this is a general principle valid for ever and everywhere. It is concerned

with a most vital question, the destiny of peoples under foreign rule. For such peoples the Charter introduced a new conception of non-self-governing territories, according to which they were no longer merely regions under the rule of a few colonial states, but countries where the interests of the population were of primary importance. But in the further formation of the relevant clause of the Charter a compromise was made which — unlike the analogous clause concerning the trusteeship territories — did not treat of the achievement of independence, but introduced two elements, to some extent contradictory: the obligation to develop self-government, on the one hand, and the recognition of the political aspirations of the peoples, on the other. If self-government implies everything short of independence (thus the colonialists interpret this clause) what will happen if a nation aspires politically to nothing short of independence? The only logical interpretation of this text is that self-government implies independence, as Sir Stafford Cripps explained during his mission in India.

In the relatively short period since the foundation of the United Nations, the question of self-determination of nations as formulated in its Charter has been approached in an increasingly progressive way. The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia has always pledged herself to a full and consistent interpretation of this right. In its introduction, the Yugoslav draft for the declaration of the rights and obligations of states formulates it most broadly when it says: «The principle contained in the Charter of the United Nations that nations which are still under foreign rule should achieve their political aspirations, implies the right to self-determination, i. e., the right of nations to found their own national states.» In accordance with this, clause 1 of this draft formulates the following rule: «Every nation has the right to self-determination, which implies the right to found its own national state.»

Yugoslavia, along with other countries, made active efforts to have clauses concerning the recognition of the right to self-determination, as a precondition for the full enjoyment of the rights of man, included in drafts for conventions on the protection of these right. This view was supported and adopted by the conference of Asian and African states held in Bandung. The General Assembly of the United Nations has concluded that the right of nations to self-determination is a prerequisite for the assertion of the basic rights of man, and that this principle should apply to all peoples. Thus, the states which rule over non-self-governing and trusteeship territories should make it possible for their peoples to exercise this right in accordance with the principles and the spirit of the Charter. It has become clear within the few years since the adoption of the Charter that its

clauses on self-determination cannot be considered as programmatic declarations. They are positive legal rules directly applicable in every concrete case. Moreover, as the Charter is in many respects the expression of general legal conceptions, the right to self-determination can be said to have become an integral part of the rules of general international law. We may recall many declarations in this connection, even from the colonial states themselves, among them the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of February 12, 1953, which speaks in its introduction of »self-government and self-determination for the Sudan.» This formula bears out the fact that in the mentioned clauses of the Charter self-government implies full independence.

The right to self-determination having become clear, the development in this field has progressed further in recent years. Once the close interrelation between political and economic independence was realized, the economic basis of political independence began to attract attention. This accounts for the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly in 1952, in which it was stressed that free exploitation of the natural riches of their countries by nations is in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter. This resolution was followed by a study of the question of whether nations should possess lasting and full sovereignty over their own natural riches, and to what extent.

At its last regular session, the United Nations General Assembly again took a firm stand on the question of self-determination. Its resolution on Algeria recognized the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence. Another resolution declared that any kind of foreign rule and exploitation in a country means the negation of basic human rights, and is thus against the Charter, and obstructive to world peace and co-operation.

But, on the other hand, cases such as that of Algeria show that, in spite of these firm principles, the assertion of the right to self-determination still encounters resistance. The past has shown that most countries acquired this right only by fighting for it. Although there exists a world peace organization today, such struggles were necessary. But they can obtain strong support if the progressive elements stand on the side of justice. The joint actions of these elements may greatly contribute to the success of these struggles, or to a peaceful solution. This refers particularly to states and nations which are not engaged in the present bloc antagonism, and which can therefore exert the irresistible pressure of numbers, the joining of forces and high moral reputation, in order to bring about the rapid attainment of self-determination for those nations which have not yet acquired it.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND UNCOMMITTED COUNTRIES

By Janez STANOVNIK

THE main international economic problems are due to the general differences which divide the world into:

- rich and poor
- East and West
- large and small.

The uncommitted countries seek to achieve peace through the unity of the world, and therefore they do not seek to find solutions to the existing problems through the victory of any extremist views. This is why they oppose bloc groupations, including those which aim at overcoming the present antagonisms. Solutions to the world economic problems can be found only through the recognition of the interests and aspirations of the participants in international economic cooperation. The economic basis of a lasting peace can be established only through economic coordination, and not subjugation and, consequently, the right to economic emancipation is a *conditio sine qua non* of any constructive approach to the solving of international economic problems.

I

THE fact that only 20 percent of mankind enjoy 80 percent of the overall world income, and that, on the other hand, the remaining 80 percent of mankind have at their disposal no more than 20 percent of the world income is, in itself, the major international economic problem, and the different problems discussed in various international forums represent merely diverse forms of this basic issue in the world of today.

The poor produce agricultural and mineral raw materials, whereas the technological advances achieved by the rich cut down the prices of these products from year to year, and thus reduce the prospects of their marketing. If the prices of raw materials fall by ten percent — and in periods of recession such decreases are even greater — poor countries suffer losses larger than the total amount of international financial aid granted per annum. As a remedy, it is recommended that poor countries should join national schemes of compensatory financing; but the question arises whether it is justifiable to require the poor to carry the burden of the international economic instability for which they are least responsible? It is obvious that a solution to this problem can be found only in a general international agreement on the stabilization of raw material markets,

which would have a favourable effect on the economic development of both the rich and the poor.

With an average five-percent accumulation in their national incomes, poor countries succeed in securing a real yearly increase of up to 2 percent. In rich countries, however, this figure is much higher, and in some of them five times bigger than in poor countries. This problem can be solved by organizing large-scale, long-term international financing. The present rate of investments in the underdeveloped countries should at least be doubled, which would mean that the inhabitants of rich countries should each lend them 10 dollars per annum. Such an action would open up new markets for the capital goods of rich countries, and in this way, unemployment, insufficient utilization of industrial capacities and the problems of agricultural surpluses would be removed from the list of the problems of rich countries, while the advantages which their inhabitants would thus gain would be far greater than the ten dollars sacrificed.

At a time when the human mind is penetrating into the universe and discovering atomic secrets, half the world population is still illiterate. Scientific achievements and knowledge are accessible to the rich alone, and technical knowledge increases the productive power of human hands only in rich countries. Modern civilization will have advanced only when science and technology has ceased to be the privilege of the aristocracy and closed circles, for the improvement of scientific and technological knowledge must serve the whole of mankind. Ignorance and misunderstandings have often led to disasters in human history, and what the world needs is not »technical assistance« but »technical cooperation«, for every man can learn something from the other and benefit from the experience gained by other people.

A solution to the problem of poverty and wealth should not be sought in a new division of the world, but in extending assistance to the poor and enabling them to enlarge the list of their products by their own forces and ability. What will really solve this problem is not for the rich to give, but to cooperate with the poor on an equal footing.

II

THE countries rallied round the "East" represented about 30 percent of the world population, and account for a slightly lower percentage of the world income. On the other hand, those rallied

round the "West" account for 25 percent of the world population and a considerably larger share of the total world income. All these countries together — which belong chiefly to the North — hold at least 80 percent of the world income in their hands.

These two parts of the world — East and West — are inimical to each other. Their antagonism, which is ideological in character, greatly affects the world economy.

At present, East and West spend 120 billion dollars per annum on armaments and war preparations. This sum is almost equivalent to the total annual income of the underdeveloped countries. If, in the course of a dozen years, such sum were invested in the economic development of the underdeveloped countries, and not in means of exterminating human race, the problem of such countries would vanish from our planet. It is clear that this goal cannot be achieved overnight. But it is equally clear that the present-day productive forces are such as to make it possible to solve speedily the problem of economically underdeveloped countries. Had we experienced a period of "economic development" instead of "cold war" in the past decade, we would not be anxious now about the very existence of human society. Even a modest and limited programme of redistribution of the available funds, i.e., a programme of investments in the economic development of the world, and not in the armaments race, would be the safest way of establishing mutual confidence. Such a programme would eventually lead to the elimination of mutual mistrust, which is the primary cause of the armaments race.

While the two blocs of powers express themselves in favour of free international trade, each of them imposes restrictions and barriers of one kind or another. Every form of discrimination based on political motives is detrimental, not only for the rival side, but also for the side which initiates it.

International economic cooperation is still dominated by the principle of universalism. Nobody, however, can be forced by simple exclusion to change his institutions. And the true victims of such exclusive policy are those who support it. The only basis of international economic cooperation is recognition of the existing systems.

It would be unrealistic to set as the ultimate and only goal the elimination of economic blocs. But the uncommitted countries are endeavouring to create conditions in which these economic blocs will be overcome.

III

IT SEEMS as if the modern international economic developments are leading us to the "economy of the great". In Western Europe, a large economic region, which may comprise as many as fourteen countries, is being created. In Eastern Europe, under the auspices of SEV a similar economic region is also being founded, while the United States created such a region in the course of the last century.

These large and developed economic regions are increasingly striving to become self-sufficient. Their

dependence on the world market is relatively small, whereas the dependence of the small and underdeveloped countries on the same factor is very great, and this leads to trade discrimination, which is being introduced into world trade by integration.

The trade of the large countries is diversified out of all proportion to that of the small countries, and, accordingly, it is less subject to pressure which may be exerted along this line. The small countries, however, must inevitably depend on the markets of the large countries. In addition to this, as a consequence of their economic past, half their national product is channelled through foreign trade which often consists of one, two or three different kinds of products. The small countries, quite naturally, seek to solve this problem by establishing mutual ties and creating greater regions of economic activity.

Even the problem of integration cannot be solved by dividing these large regions of economic activity into small units. A solution should be sought in the awareness of mutual connections and responsibility. A river which flows through my territory is not only "mine" and, likewise, my actions in the field of world trade are not merely my own affair. The economic history of the world and the distribution of labour have enabled some countries to expand and develop their economies. The world economy and technology, however, represent a unique process, and no one can claim to be solely responsible for their development.

IV

THE underdeveloped countries carry the greatest burden of the present-day international economic problems, and that is why they are vitally interested in their solution. Economic problems, however are closely linked with political issues, and for this reason the solving of the one means the solving of the other.

Although it is alleged that the disarmament problem is the sole concern of those who possess arms, nobody can say that the uncommitted countries have nothing to do with it, just as it would be absurd to state that the Berlin problem is an exclusively European one.

The uncommitted countries see a way of overcoming the antagonisms dividing the present-day world by recognizing the right of every country to economic emancipation, and by supporting their efforts in this direction.

The political picture of the world has changed in the course of the past decade, and this has led to changes in the world economy, too. The moral unity of the uncommitted countries decisively points to the fact that outstanding problems can only be solved through coexistence among states with different social systems: coexistence between rich and poor, large and small.

ON THE PREPARATION OF THESES FOR THE NEW CONSTITUTION

— „Borba's“ interview with Edvard Kardelj —

ON DECEMBER 2, 1960, the Federal People's Assembly elected a commission for constitutional matters under the chairmanship of Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council. The task of the commission is to prepare fundamental theses for the new Constitution, and, when the Assembly decides, also to propose a draft of the new Constitutional Law for consideration.

On July 29, 1961, Edvard Kardelj gave an interview to the Editor of "Borba" about the preparations for drawing up the new Constitution.

The following are excerpts from the interview,

MAN IN PRODUCTION, MANAGEMENT AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION

QUESTION:

"On the basis of the preparations carried out by the Commission so far, will you please, Comrade Kardelj, tell us what is, in your opinion, the most essential thing in the theses for the new Constitution?"

"For the time being, I could not give you any detailed information about the new things in the theses for the new Constitution, because the work of the Commission is still in the phase of general discussions and discussions on principles. As soon as the Commission completes this phase of its work, the public will be informed, and the proposed theses will be publicly aired, and, consequently, the ideas which are raised here should not be taken to be any definite view of the Commission.

"I will say something about these ideas so as to inform the public about the direction of the work done by the Commission so far.

"Now that you ask me what is the most essential thing in the theses for the new constitution, I should like to repeat what President Tito said in a statement some months ago. Namely, the starting consideration of the new Constitution will be man — man in production on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, man in free work, in the management of production and in the distribution of the social product, man in the social mechanism — the free producer and creator — who is aware of his social role, of his rights and obligations towards his fellow men, towards the whole community. It is on the basis of such socialist, economic and social relations that the whole political and social superstructure of society must be developed. This is, in my opinion, the most important thing in the theses for the new Constitution just as it is the most important thing in our socialist development as a whole.

"Saying this, I wish to emphasize two fundamental differences between the constitution which is arising from our socialist reality and the classical constitutional laws that are based on the principle of capitalist private ownership.

"First of all, it must be remembered that the classical constitution treats, in principle, the whole

sphere of economic relations as a private matter of the citizen, as an element of his personal freedom. In other words, every man in such a system has the right to exploit another man and everyone has the obligation, in order to preserve such "freedom", to subjugate himself to exploitation if he is not "fortunate" enough to be the exploiter himself. True, the State intervenes, to a lesser or greater extent, by regulative measures — measures which are designed to preserve private ownership, that is, the right to exploit another. Owing to this, the sphere of activity of the so-called multi-party democracy in a bourgeois state is reduced to the passing of such regulative acts and measures and to the protection of the system or order, as well as on the regulation of foreign relations. No matter how frequently governments and ruling parties may change, the structure of society remains unchanged, that is, the whole social development progresses in conditions of the domination of private ownership, of the right to exploit another man. Naturally, I do not wish to say that, under present circumstances, in particular, the mechanism of bourgeois democracy cannot be used to effect structural changes in society, i. e. to change social and economic relations if there is a sufficiently strong and sufficiently conscious political force which is capable of taking advantage of definite conditions. But, this, at the same time, always constitutes the beginning of the negation of the fundamental principles on which the classical constitution of a bourgeois democratic state is based".

WORK — THE ONLY CRITERION IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL PRODUCT

"In our conditions, however, the abolition of the right to exploitation and the adoption of work effect as the only criterion in the distribution of the social product constitute the starting point in our social development and in the development of the entire political and general social superstructure of society.

"In this way, the right to work, emancipated labour, the right to a share of the social product in proportion to one's work, the right to an equal place in the management of production, distribution economic plans, etc., become not only a component part of the personal and democratic rights of man,

but also the fundamental aim of the existence of the whole state and social mechanism.

"In other words emancipated labour of man and his right to a share of the social product in harmony with the principle 'to each according to his work' is, in our conditions, the same thing as is private ownership of the means of production in the capitalist system and, consequently, in the state of bourgeois democracy, i. e. its constitution. Naturally social ownership of the means of production is the essential prerequisite for the existence of such relations and for their further development towards communism, i. e. towards the development of such conditions in which it will be possible to distribute the social product according to one's needs and not one's work.

"For these reasons, our Constitution should primarily pay the greatest attention to man, the producer, i. e. to his position in production and distribution, and not to man, the citizen. Whereas the essence of the bourgeois — democratic legal order is to enable the private owner of capital to handle his property as freely as possible, the aim of our constitutional order is to enable man, the producer, to engage freely in work according to his abilities and inclinations and so acquire automatically the right to manage the socially-owned means of production and take part in income distribution according to his work, i. e. according to uniform social standards of work. No other possibilities or criteria can exist in the socialist distribution of the social product. Any departure from these principles would constitute a violation of socialist, economic and social relations.

"In this way, the whole sphere of economic relations ceases, really and formally, to be the private matter of the individual; but, at the same time, such changes give greater personal freedom to man in establishing better living conditions than any bourgeois-democratic order; in fact, these changes ensure the maximum degree of such freedom under given economic conditions.

STIMULUS TO THE WITHERING AWAY OF THE STATE

QUESTION:

"That, practically, means that our new Constitution will sanction our practice, our social development, particularly after the recently approved changes in the economic system?"

"Yes, it will. We have already been developing our socialist social structure on these principles. However, the new Constitution will give a more important role and place to these principles in the whole legal system; these principles, i. e. rights will be thoroughly fixed and will be less dependent on current plans and economic policy. In this way, economic relations which are being developed in this country on the basis of self-government in production and income distribution will no longer be something that has been recognized from above as the right of citizens but will become stable relations which will constitute the basis of the whole system and which will dominate our entire development.

"These relations should also become the basis of the methodology of planning, of the essence of planning in the entire economic policy. At the same

time, these relations will be the basis of the greater political stability of society and the inviolable starting point for all long-term plans of development in all spheres of social life.

"The other difference between the classical and our Constitution which I must specially emphasize arises from the first. Namely, as is known, the classical constitution is the exclusive instrument of the state, the state which defends the order in conditions of private ownership of the means of production and the right of man to exploit his fellow man. Naturally, our Constitution, too, is a constitution of the State. But our state, as a socialist state, is a state of a different kind.

"Our state, as Marx and Lenin said, is a state which is withering away. And it is precisely this process that should be completely reflected in the Constitution. In other words, our Constitution should be such as to make possible and stimulate the withering away of the state".

NOT ONLY A CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE, BUT ALSO A CONSTITUTION OF SELF- GOVERNMENT

QUESTION:

"Comrade Kardelj, you know that we have been frequently attacked by critics who say that we are interpreting Marxist thesis on the withering away of the state incorrectly. Primarily, we are being accused of underestimating the role of the state in the transition period. Please, can you tell us something more about the way in which this problem will come to expression in the new Constitution?"

"As far as we are concerned, we, naturally, have never underestimated the role of the state in the struggle for the development of socialism. On the contrary, we have always considered that the state is a very significant and even decisive factor in the first phase after the revolutionary taking over of power. No one can doubt that the state, with lesser or greater competencies and functions, will play a significant role for a lengthier period of time, particularly if we take into account the overall structure of the present-day world, that is, if we bear in mind that there are two antagonistic systems. However, we are not called upon to predict how fast and thoroughly the state will wither away; our duty is to see that social relations, relations between men, develop in such a way as to produce elements which will accelerate this process. Precisely for this reason, we have always identified the withering away of the state with the development of the system of social self-government. The functions of the state will weaken at the pace at which the producers and the entire social and economic relations make it possible for men to govern themselves and to regulate their relations with less and less reliance on the authority of the state. Accordingly, the expanding social self-government and democracy are the elements of this process. This is, in fact, a process which is a component part of the entire progress of society towards communism.

INCENTIVE TO FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS IN THE SPIRIT OF HUMANISM AND DEMOCRACY

"We can say that our Constitution, although it will not be any kind of programme but the legal generalization and stabilization of the achievements already made in our socialist development, will give a new and significant incentive to socialist relations in the spirit of humanism and democracy.

"When I say this, I, naturally, do not think that our Constitution should be based on any abstract humane and democratic formulas, no matter how much humanism and democracy should permeate all the Constitutional provisions, just as they permeate our entire socialist development. Yet, no one should forget that the progress of society and of every individual does not depend so much on their wishes as on their ability of harmonizing their wishes with economic conditions and on their efforts to change these conditions.

"Man cannot have rights alone; he has definite obligations towards society and its order as a whole. Therefore, real democracy should be manifested through his striving towards freedom and through his feeling of responsibility towards his fellow men, towards the progress of society. These are not abstract and fixed principles; they are conditioned by history and are constantly changing. Accordingly, our Constitution cannot and should not be based on abstract principles of justice and freedom; what it must do is to open the way for and encourage the development of the economic and social relations and factors which ensure the fastest possible progress of socialist society in every respect, including democracy.

"The thorough treatment of social and economic relations in our new Constitution will, I think, ensure precisely such a course of our social, political and cultural development. Naturally, the Constitution will in this respect formulate the existing relations so as to define more clearly the prospects of further progress towards a communist society through the constant expansion of self-government and democracy; a general preamble will be attached to it so as to avoid the danger of giving it the character of a programme".

OUR ECONOMY MUST INEVITABLY BE PLANNED AND FREE

QUESTION:

"Comrade Kardelj, when the latest changes in our economic system were being made, some foreign critics said that this was a utopia, that we were returning to some kind of liberalism which had become obsolete, and so on".

"Yes, certain people who, at first sight, appear to have different conceptions, frequently say that, with our conception of the economic system on the basis of social self-government, we are returning to some classical forms of liberalism, and it seems to them that, with our theses on liberal relations, we are out of time and space. However, they do not grasp the fundamental thing, that is, that we take for our point of departure, not the freedom of capital and the distribution of products according to invested capital and profits, but the freedom of labour and distribution according to work. The former, i. e. capitalist relations prevent any planned guidance of the

economy and thus lead to either anarchy in production and economic crises or to intensified state intervention and state-capitalist monopolies and, consequently, to the elimination of «liberalism». In contrast to this, socialist relations inevitably necessitate a planned economy, but no longer a planned economy of the state-monopolistic type, but an economy which provides the best possible conditions of work for everyone. Therefore, our economy must inevitably be a planned and free economy. Our experience has shown that these are not conflicting principles as some critics of our practice would like to show».

CITIZENS WILL NOT ELECT DEPUTIES BUT DELEGATIONS TO THE ASSEMBLY

QUESTION:

"Let us return to the theses for new Constitution. If I understood you correctly, the principles you have explained will make it necessary to adapt to them the whole state and social mechanism, from the commune to the Federation. What changes, if any, are to be made in our supreme representative body, the Federal People's Assembly?"

"So far, our People's Assembly has played a significant role in social life, but the new conditions will make it necessary to adapt it to the present reality. People who analyze our political life from anti-socialist positions maintain that no assembly can be acceptable without the classical-multi-party bourgeois-democratic system. However, these are very obsolete conceptions. In my opinion, the weakness of our Assembly, in spite of the great progress made, is still to be found in the fact that it is still somewhat similar to the classical bourgeois-democratic parliament.

"So as to give a still more important place to the Assembly in our socialist society, it will have to be made capable of adapting itself to relations which have been established and which are developing upon our socialist social and economic basis. In other words, it must be linked, still more directly, with the bottom up, so that, by its structure and the nature of its decisions, it will become, to an ever greater extent, the instrument of direct democracy and the supreme organ in which the influence of all self-governing bodies in enterprises, institutions, organizations, and communes will find most direct expression.

"The classical type of the people's deputy, too, is no longer suitable, and will have to be changed.

"Our society today is a very complex and widespread mechanism of self-government in all spheres of social life. If we wish to bring our Assembly closer to the mechanism of self-government and link it more firmly with the bodies of self-government, then the Assembly itself will have to have different bodies and specialize in work in individual fields.

"In such conditions it will be necessary to change the entire electoral system. In fact, deputies will no longer be elected, but delegations which, by their composition, will correspond to the new structure of the assembly. The deputy, accordingly, will no longer be a «representative of a territory», although he will be elected in the commune or in the area of several communes, but will represent the direct interests of the working people in various fields of social self-government. The members of the Federal Council would, according to the present view, be

deputies permanently engaged in Assembly work, i. e. they would not be able to perform any other governing or other function either in the federation, the constituent republics or the people's committees. Together with other chambers, the Federal Council would be fully responsible for the policy of the Federation.

«Naturally, in harmony with all these changes in the composition of the People's Assembly, the methods of nominating and electing candidates will also have to be changed. Elections for the people's committees in the communes, that is, for all their representative bodies, would be direct and conducted in accordance with the territorial principle or in individual enterprises and institutions. Elections for the assemblies of the constituent republics and for the Federal Assembly would take place immediately after the elections for the people's committees — in principle, on the basis of the system of delegations. This means that groups of communes, according to the number of their inhabitants, would appoint delegations of various sizes for various chambers of the People's Assembly. As far as members of the Federal Council are concerned, a referendum would be held through which the citizens would either approve the delegates nominated by the people's committees or put up other candidates. The new Constitution will pay due attention to the methods of nominating candidates as well, so that all social factors, primarily the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, should be able to come to full expression in this matter.

NO ONE COULD BE A DEPUTY OR A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FOR TWO SUCCESSIVE TERMS

QUESTION:

«Comrade Kardelj, discussions have been going on for some time about the need of the automatic replacement of members of all representative bodies at all levels. This matter was also discussed at the Congress of the Workers' Councils in 1956 as a logical consequence of our social development. Will you, please, tell us how the new Constitution will regulate this question?»

«The replacement of the leading organs of social life was a subject of discussion during preliminary consultations. The theses provide for the introduction of the system of rotation, i. e. the obligatory replacement of people in responsible political posts, both in the federation and the constituent republics and in the organs of local self-government. The composition of the People's Assembly and its chambers should, according to the theses, be changed every term. This means that no one person should be a deputy or a member of the Executive Council for two successive terms. But, to ensure the continuity of work it is proposed that one half of the members of the elected bodies should be replaced every second year. In a similar way, people holding responsible jobs in the state administration would also be replaced. All exceptions in this respect — according to the theses — should be fixed by the new Constitution.

«Undoubtedly, such a system of replacing people in the leading posts would impart great flexibility to the entire system of social self-government and the state administration, making these organs capable of

adapting themselves to the changes in practice without impairing the continuity of essential functions or the stability of society. Such a system would also enable other significant social organs and organizations which are now perhaps underestimated and insufficiently developed — also because the distribution of personnel is directed towards the state organs and the organs of social self-government — to secure personnel with a greater experience and so improve their work. The view that in such a system some capable men and women would be lost is groundless. There are in our social life a sufficient number of organizations — including, among others, the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, trade unions, etc. — which are capable of influencing the work of our state machinery. Through these organizations too, capable persons will be able to make a contribution to the correct solving of problems. On the other hand, the replacement of people in responsible posts will contribute to the proper understanding of various problems which are often overshadowed by routine work. Furthermore, such a system is necessary also because it would enable us to fight against bureaucracy and administrative indifference more successfully.»

THE CONCEPT OF THE WORKING CLASS ASSUMES NEW SIGNIFICANCE

QUESTION:

«Comrade Kardelj, our social development has given rise to discussions and the view that the concept of the direct producer is now much broader than it was when the councils of producers were founded. The very institution of the council of producers is also being discussed. What, in this respect, do the theses for the new Constitution provide for?»

«You are right. The time has come to expand the concept of the producer. That is, in fact, what the theses for the Constitution provide for. The system of self-government has been introduced in health, social, educational and other institutions since the councils of producers were first founded. Now measures are being taken which will, in a certain sense, also change the position of civil servants. In addition to this, the entire social composition of the population is changing, so that the concept of the working class itself has acquired a new content. Furthermore, the close links between health, educational, social and civil services with production transforms a number of social functions — as shown by experience — almost into a continuation of the production process. These are the reasons why it is necessary to change the composition of the councils of producers in a sense I have already mentioned. In the future, the councils of producers will not be elected only by the collectives in production enterprises, but also by the collectives in medical, educational, administrative and other institutions.»

THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE — ONE OF MANY FACTORS IN THE COMMUNE

QUESTION:

«Please, Comrade Kardelj, will you tell us whether any changes are contemplated in regard to the Communes and in what sense?»

«We have held for a long time that the communes should be developed and consolidated as the basic

cell of our socialist system, and this view found an adequate expression in the programme of the League of Communists.

«The theses for the new Constitution, too, are based on the view that the commune should be the factor which will solve the greatest number of the problems encountered by men in their day-to-day life. Apart from this, it is through the commune that people, the producers, should air general social problems which fall within the competence of the representative bodies — from the people's committee to the Federal People's Assembly.

«The distribution of income according to work has automatically produced some new elements in the structure of the commune, so that it may be said that our social basis has — to a large extent — been already formed, both in theory and in practice. Consequently, the new Constitution will not introduce any essential changes in this sphere but will introduce greater stability in definite relations. The communes, as now held, will continue to have such factors and organs as the councils of producers, but these organs will be elected by all collectives with bodies of self-government and will not solve all matters independently. In other words, both councils of the people's committees will constitute a single body and will consider matters separately only in exceptional cases.

QUESTION:

«How will the new Constitution treat the problem of the personal rights of citizens?»

«The new Constitution will formulate the personal rights of citizens as the real product of the whole social structure. What I mean is that the personal rights of man arise from our overall system of social self-government about which I have been talking — and, primarily, from the position of man, the producer, i. e. from his right to manage production and distribute the social product independently within limits of uniform social standards of distribution according to work. Thus, the whole domain of the personal rights of man is being transformed into the domain of the personal rights of man as a worker and social being, not as a formal citizen — and all on a far broader basis than could ever be provided by the classical form of bourgeois democracy.

«True, we are living in such international conditions which make it possible for definite anti-socialist, i. e. reactionary remnants to wield power which they would not have in a broader socialist community. Therefore, certain revolutionary restrictions of so-called political rights are still inevitable and will therefore have to be formulated in the new Constitution in a concrete way. In other words, the personal rights of citizens will be restricted only insomuch as someone may wish to misuse them for subversive and forcible antisocialist purposes.

«On the other hand, the theses provide for the possibilities of expanding the political activities of individuals through an increased role of the Socialist Alliance in our social life, and consequently of all socialist forces and factors in our society. In such conditions, the Socialist Alliance would, in fact, be one of the systems of social self-government and of direct socialist democracy.»

QUESTION:

«Will the draft Constitution treat international relations and in what sense?»

«One section of the new Constitution will be devoted to international relations; naturally, this section will treat only general principles. Certainly, the Constitution will emphasize our support of all forces of progress, national equality and socialism, as well as our adherence to the principles of peaceful and active coexistence.

«But not only that. Once it was held that, in international cooperation, «absolute» national sovereignty was all-important, and this corresponded to the level of development of the time, whereas today nations subordinate, to a certain measure, their own interests to the general interests of all. On the other hand, international relations, which restrict national sovereignty to some extent, expand this sovereignty in the international field by enabling every nation to exert greater influence on world affairs. The world is becoming — to an increasingly greater extent — a single whole, and big, even the biggest, countries cannot isolate themselves within their national boundaries. This means that national problems affect international relations, relations between nations, not only from the standpoint of the right of every nation to self-determination but also from the standpoint of the stabilization of international cooperation as the necessary basis for the international division of labour. Naturally, socialist countries should take the lead in this process. It has always been held that the international policy of a country is a reflection of its internal policy, and the internal and foreign policy of a nation are becoming synonymous at present. Therefore, our new Constitution could not even be imagined without a section on the principles of international relations. Certainly, our Constitutional formulations of these relations will be generalized, i. e. they will treat relations between nations in general but they will pay special attention to relations which should be developed between socialist countries.»

THE NEW SOCIALIST

PUBLISHED EVERY MONTH

This newest magazine from New Delhi is the voice of democratic socialism in Asia.

Neatly printed and smartly got up it carries month by month theoretical articles, literary reviews, poems, book reviews besides political comment of a contemporary nature.

Contributors so far include Hugh Gaitskell, Julius Braunthal, Aneurin Bevan, Fenner Brockway, Joan Robinson, Moshe Sharett, S. Levenberg, Asoka Mehta, Jaya Prakash Narayan, Acharya Kripalani and Sutan Sjahrir.

56 pages: Re. 1/- or 2 sh. 6d. or 50 cents

Annual: Rs. 10/- or 25 sh. or \$ 4.00

For particulars apply to post Box 2532

New Delhi — 5, India

WHEN the electrical manufacturing industry of Yugoslavia is mentioned, the name of the "Rade Končar" enterprise is immediately brought to mind. The speedy and dynamic development of this enterprise has raised it to the ranks of the largest Yugoslav economic enterprises.

During the past fifteen years the production of the "Rade Končar" enterprise increased from an annual average of 200 tons to 13,000 tons of finished products, which was its output at the end of 1960. This means that its average annual capacity has increased sixty-five times as compared with that in 1946. The number of workers increased from 120 to about 6,000.

A further increase of a hundred per cent is planned for 1965: 26,000 tons of finished products.

The basic activities within the framework of the "Rade Končar" enterprise are the following: the construction of big, medium and small rotation machines (generators and electro-motors) power transformers, instrument transformers, special transformers, low-tension apparatus, high-tension apparatus, electrothermics, special fields (electrification in shipbuilding and electric traction), automation, regulating mechanisms, rectifiers, designing and electric assembling of complete installations.

The "Rade Končar" enterprise contains several plants which are in fact independent factories. These plants are equipped with the most up-to-date machines, and with testing departments, which renders it possible to test the quality of both raw materials and finished products, so that in quality they can compete with the products of well-known foreign manufacturers in this branch.

In addition to these plants there is an electro-technic institute with a high-tension laboratory, a number of other laboratories and testing departments as well as a special department for automation and regulation etc. in the enterprise. Physical, electrotechnical and chemical testing is carried out in the institute by means of modern apparatus and equipment. The rich production programme of the enterprise includes, in rough outline, the following products:

GENERATORS

Generators are among the most important products of the "Rade Končar" enterprise.

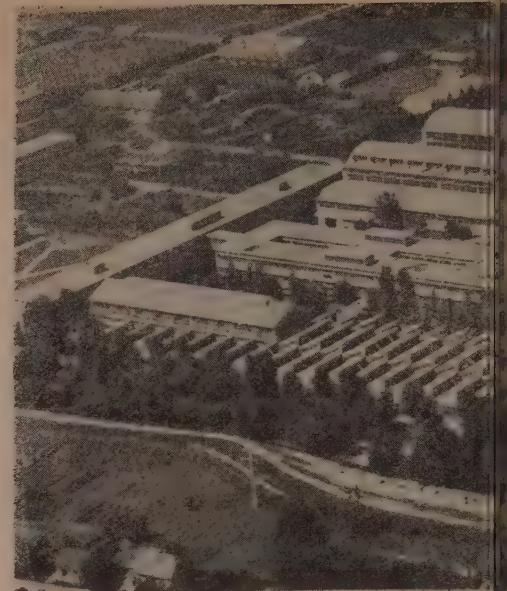
The enterprise can produce generators ranging from the lowest to the highest power, for all usual rates of speed, rotation and tension, in vertical or horizontal operation for hydro-electric and thermo-electric power stations. It is the sole producer of generators in Yugoslavia. It should be mentioned that the biggest hydro-generators the enterprise has constructed so far are of 120,000 KVA, a size already considered as gigantic. Two units of this type will be put into operation in the hydro-electric power plant of Split by the end of this year. The biggest constructed turbogenerators are of 40,000 KVA, and several Yugoslav electric power plants are equipped with such generators. Separate winches for horizontal and vertical testing of the generator rotors in the plants where big rotation machines are constructed make it possible to test the generator rotors prior to forwarding them to the building sites.

ELECTROMOTORS

These motors are produced from the smallest to the highest power rates for all usual tensions and rotations, and for various purposes.

Three-phase asynchronous electromotors are constructed in ranges from 0.23 kW to 1,000 and even more, as well as special electromotors for mines, looms, tramways, trolleybuses and electric locomotives. Electromotors and other electric equipment for trolleybuses are made by "Rade Končar" according to the licence of the Swiss firm Oerlikon.

In addition, "Rade Končar" delivers complete



Rade K Z A G R

trolleybuses which, in the traffic of Yugoslav towns, have proved to be good and durable. Foreign countries are also showing an interest in these trolleybuses so that export deals will probably be concluded.

TRANSFORMERS

Besides the serial production of power transformers from 20 to 4,000 KVA, big transformers up to the highest power rates are constructed. The biggest are three-phase regulation transformers 60,000 KVA.

"Rade Končar" has begun to construct power transformers of 220,000 KVA according to the technical documentation of the well-known German firm Siemens S. W., and there are agreements for the supply of these to the experience of this firm in this field.

To illustrate all this it should be mentioned that from 1946 to 1961 a total of 7,940,000 KVA of transformers were produced, in which big power transformers exceeding a power of 40,000 KVA, i. e., power transformers of individual production, figured 181 transformers, to a total power of 2,760,000 KVA.

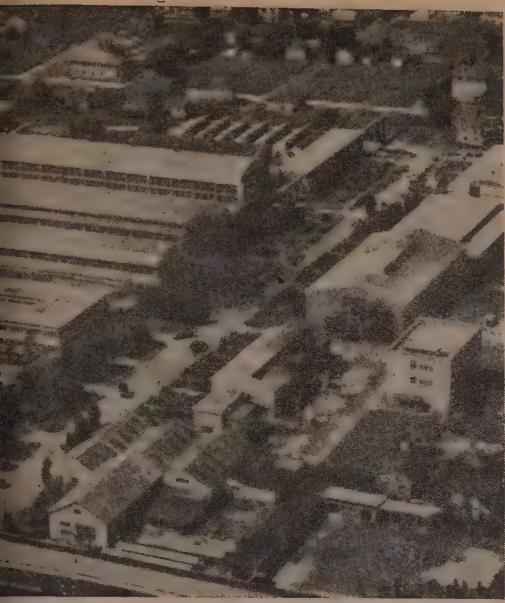
LOW-TENSION APPARATUS

A rich assortment of low tension apparatus is included in the variegated production programme of the "Rade Končar" enterprise. These include starters, change-over switches, starters, control switches, various keys, distribution and steel switchboards fully equipped for electric power plants, transformer stations, industrial plants, mines, ships and a number of other installations.

HIGH-TENSION APPARATUS

Without high-tension apparatus the electrification of a country is inconceivable. All power generating plants and electric installations in the industry call for a number of products of this type.

The high-tension apparatus are mostly domestic, of the enterprise's own construction, except for pneumatic contact breakers which are made after the licence of the French



čar

ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENTS FACTORY

"Merin-Gerin" of Grenoble. But these contact breakers are considerably improved by certain alterations, and they have proved to be of high quality in many Yugoslav electric power plants, so that a number of electric power plants abroad have purchased these contact breakers from "Rade Končar".

In the group of high tension apparatus there are disconnectors up to 10,30,110 and 220 KV, hydroelectric contact breakers up to 10 and 30 KV and automatic contact breakers up to 220 KV. In addition, this group contains accessories for disconnectors, closed distributors and shielded transformer stations.

These shielded transformer stations are interesting and practical because they can be moved easily from one place to another. They are manufactured in series in the apparatus-producing plants, from where they are forwarded to different places where they can be assembled very quickly.

They are made for the highest drive tension of 12 KV with fixed, built-in equipment. The equipment also contains transformers with a power of up to 30 MVA and high tension contact breakers of 10 KV disconnecting power. These transformer stations are particularly suitable for supplying electrical power to distribution networks in towns, building blocks and settlements, as well as in villages, estates, hospitals, factories, workshops, in harbors and mines etc.

AUTOMATION AND REGULATION

In this field too the "Rade Končar" enterprise possesses the experience of many years. The construction of devices for controlling, protecting and performing production processes and the automation of machines are the basic tasks of the Automation and Regulation Department in Rade Končar's Electronic Institute.

Automatic tension regulators for many Yugoslav electric power plants have been constructed. The first automatic tension regulator of big hydrogenerators started working in the Vuhred I Hydroelectric Power Plant in 1954. Automatic tension regulators have been built also for the following hydroelec-

tric power plants: Vrla III, Bistrica I and II, Perućica I and II, Peruća I and II, Vuhred II and III, Ožbalt I and II, Mariborski Otok III etc.

A special achievement in this field is the automatic regulator of the electrodes of arc furnaces of the electromagnetic type serving to maintain constant impedance of the electric arc. The arc furnaces are complete constructions, with capacity of 1500 to 2500 kgs, of 1,000 KVA power, and are used in ironworks and foundries. The first contracts for the export of these arc furnaces have already been concluded. Moreover, special automatic installations are constructed such as generator sets with complete regulation for conveying current impulses of high accuracy to the magnetic lens of the CERN Nuclear Institute in Czechoslovakia.

Automatic installations have been constructed in many other industrial projects, such as in the Zenica and Sisak ironworks, in the Bitolj sugar refinery, in the Nikšić ironworks, in the silos of Rijeka, in the paper and cellulose mills of Prijedor, in the "Boris Kidrič" light metal factory etc.

ELECTRIFICATION OF PLANTS

So far we have described some of the principal and basic groups of Rade Končar's production programme. Now we wish to say a few words about the work of this enterprise in the field of designing and electrifying various types of industrial plants. If the electrification of industrial plants is not implemented it is difficult even to imagine normal production in them. Its highly developed activity, coupled with rich and long experience, in designing, forwarding and assembling electrification equipment for industrial plants gives the Rade Končar enterprise certain advantages.

EXPORT

The products of the "Rade Končar" enterprise are in great demand on the domestic market, and in growing demand on foreign markets. This is shown by the annual export balances, in which the export volume is shown to have increased from year to year.

Exports were started with articles produced in series, such as electromotors, transformers and apparatus. Then the export of generators was taken up, and finally that of complete power generating plants. The small hydroelectric power plants in Turkey, followed by complete hydroelectric power plants in Pakistan with complete equipment and machinery, the diesel electric power plants delivered to Argentine and the switch apparatuses (current distributing systems) in India are the first indications to show that "Rade Končar" has found an entry to the world market in spite of the strong foreign competition.

The following are some of the countries to which "Rade Končar" exports its products: Turkey, Greece, the U.A.R., Ethiopia, the Democratic German Republic, the U.S.S.R., Hungary, Poland, India, Pakistan, Bolivia, Argentina etc.

The European markets mainly buy articles of serial production, such as transformers, electromotors, small and medium sized generators and apparatus. Large-scale buyers of transformers are the U.S.S.R. and the U.A.R., while Poland is a large buyer of ship generators, and electromotors for ship winches. The Middle and Far East participate in the growing import of complete power generating and industrial plants from Yugoslavia.

The most important contracts where the "Rade Končar" enterprise appears as the exporter of electric equipment cover the Barauni Thermoelectric Power Plant, the Periyar Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Jaldahaka Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Cherapunji Asam Cement Mills and the Durgapur Cooking Mills in India; the Tiss Abbai Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Adola Hydroelectric Power Plant and the Addis Ababa Cement Mills in Ethiopia, the Yarmouk Hydroelectric Power Plant in the Syrian Province of the U.A.R.; the Trishuli Thermoelectric Power Plant in Nepal etc.

SOCIAL STANDARD 1961—1965

By Berislav ŠEFER

THE 1961—1965 plan of Yugoslavia's economic development gives priority to housing development, and to the expansion of the network of schools and other educational institutions, medical institutes and communal services, all these spheres of activity being included in the social standard in Yugoslavia. This means that, under this joint name, we comprise services and other amenities which affect the living and cultural conditions of the working people, the development and progress of which must be the concern of every individual, and of the community as a whole.

We could give many details to show that the Five-Year Plan gives an exceptional place to these services. For instance, the average annual increase in the social product is expected to reach 11.4 percent in the next five years, but investments in the social standard and expenditures on it are to grow by 12.9 percent per annum. The total investments in the economy in the next five years are to increase by 11.8 percent yearly, whereas investments in the social standard will increase by 13.2 percent. This shows that the social standard is being given priority in the distribution of the social product, and of the available funds. In this way, the disproportions in the development of the economy and of the social standard should gradually be eliminated in the coming five-year period. This should not only improve the living conditions of the population, but also exert a significant influence on the development of the economy.

HOUSING AND COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT

UNDER the Five-Year Plan of Economic Development at least 500,000 flats will be built by the end of 1965, of which 350,000 are planned to be erected in towns and industrial settlements. About 1,100 billion dinars will be spent on this, which is considerably more than the investments so far made in housing construction. It is estimated that various housing construction funds, economic organizations and institutions will spend about 750 billion dinars on housing construction and the citizens themselves nearly 350 billion dinars. A rate of 80 percent in relation to those in the past, social funds to be invested in housing construction will increase at an approximate annual four years. It is planned to build 70,000 flats annually in towns, which means that the number of flats will be more than doubled as compared to the scope of housing construction achieved so far. This is further indicated by the following comparison: about 32,800 flats were built in towns and industrial settlements in the 1957—1960 and only 14,513 flats in the 1952—1956 period.

This big increase in housing construction should make it possible to improve the housing standard

in towns and industrial settlements, in spite of the extremely rapid increase in the number of inhabitants in these places. It is expected that the number of urban inhabitants will increase by about 1,100,000 in the coming five-year period, i. e., by about 21 percent. The average per capita housing space in towns should, by 1965, amount to 11 square metres, or, in other words, the total surface occupied by dwelling premises will increase by nearly 30 percent. This means that, in 1965, one fourth of the urban housing space will consist of new dwellings.

In order to fulfil this programme, a series of measures have been undertaken with the aim of economizing in housing construction. The biggest changes have been made in the field of financing, which is increasingly more based on economic criteria. It is estimated that the planned increase in the purchasing power of the population will afford realistic prospects for a greater utilization of individual private funds for housing construction. Another series of steps aimed at ensuring the housing construction programme is related to the accelerated development of those fields of activity on which efficiency of housing construction depends. These are the building industry and designing organizations. The tendency is to promote co-operation between the buyers of flats, designers, contractors and the building material and equipment manufacturing industry.

Furthermore, about 250,000 billion dinars are to be invested in communal services in the coming five-year period. Out of this sum, 30 billion dinars will be spent on public transport, 50 billion dinars on the expansion of the national grid, and about 170 billion dinars on the reconstruction of the water supply and sewage systems, on streets, parks and green belts, and on other communal services. In fact, these expenditures will be more than doubled as compared to earlier investments, and will thus accelerate the development of communal services and harmonize their promotion with the rapid expansion of towns and settlements. Here, too, the system of financing is being gradually changed, i. e., emphasis is being put on the principle of economy. In addition to this, economical prices are gradually being introduced, so as to enable organizations to base their work on the principle of self-financing.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IN PLANNING the details of the development of the educational system, the Five-Year Plan of Economic Development has paid particular attention to the growing need for highly-skilled educational personnel, which is due to the general economic expansion. The Plan estimates that, in the coming five-year period, the country's economy, state administration and public services will need

about 85,000 engineers and technicians, agronomists, doctors and economists, teachers and other personnel with university training, about 168,000 educational workers with high-school training, and about 82,000 highly-skilled and 325,000 skilled workers.

Apart from this, it is taken into account in the Plan that it is necessary to satisfy needs which will arise, not only in the coming five years, but also after that period. The number of pupils in eight-years schools will increase from 2,563,000 to 2,994,000 in 1965. This means that 92 percent of the children from 8 to 15 years of age will attend eight-year schools in 1965, as compared to 84 percent last year. The number of pupils attending secondary schools is expected to increase from 332,000 in 1961 to 479,000 in 1965. In other words, 38.5 percent of young people from 16 to 19 years of age are expected to attend secondary schools in 1965, as compared to 27.8 percent at present. Most of these will attend technical schools. Finally, the number of university students, and those attending various colleges and academies, will increase from 104,000 this year to 150,000 in 1965. In this way, 0.78 percent of the total population, as compared to 0.56 percent this year, will receive higher education.

Thus, it is estimated that the total number of students and pupils will increase by 21 percent in the coming five years, and this will necessitate considerable increases in investments in the educational service, and in the construction of new schools.

According to the plan, about 200 billion dinars will be spent on new school building, this being more than double the amount spent in the 1957-1960 period. These investments are to ensure the expansion of the classroom space necessary to accommodate the increased number of pupils and students, to replace old school buildings, and to put an end to the third and fourth teaching shifts in all schools. About 95 billion dinars will be invested in eight-year school buildings alone, while a further 105 billion dinars are to be spent for the reconstruction of high-school building, university faculties and hostels for students and pupils.

On the basis of these investments, it is expected that the total classroom space will be increased by 55 percent. This means that every third classroom will be newly built by the end of 1965. Consequently, the average classroom space per pupil will be increased by 28 percent. While 375,000 square metres of the classroom space were built in the 1957-1960 period, about 895,000 square metres of classroom space are planned to be built from 1961 to 1965.

Furthermore, it is estimated that the current expenditure on education will be more than doubled, so that the expenditure per pupil will be about 50 percent greater in 1965 than at present.

The Plan pays particular attention to those cultural activities which affect the largest section of the population. Thus, measures will be taken for the promotion of the work of radio and television services, cinemas, public libraries, cultural homes, workers' and popular universities, as well as for the better protection and preservation of the cultural heritage.

Television and ultra-short-wave broadcasts will cover the most densely populated regions of the

country, while the medium-wave broadcasting services will be available to the whole country. At the same time, new television studios in which about 20 billion dinars will be invested, will be built.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

INVESTMENTS in the building and expansion of the network of health institutions will be approximately 50 percent larger than in the past four years. It is expected that a total of 96 billion dinars will be invested in this field in the coming five years. This will enable the medical institutions to meet the needs of the growing population and the expanded health insurance, which is being extended to farmers and other sections of the population.

Particular care will be devoted to the building of institutions of preventive medicine. Thus, the number of polyclinics and out-patient hospitals will be increased from about 4,300 to 5,900 and the number of dispensaries from 1,100 to 1,500. The number of beds in hospitals and other health institutions is to be increased from the present 92,000 to 109,000 by 1965.

The expansion of the network of health institutions, together with the increased number of medical personnel, will make it possible to improve the health service considerably. Current expenditures on health insurance alone will increase by 67 percent in the coming five years, or by 10.8 percent annually.

In addition to this, the planned increase in expenditure in the field of social welfare will be about 2.5 greater than at present. The largest investments will be made in the building of institutions which take daily care of the children of employed persons. It is also planned to increase the number of institutions for the care and training of handicapped children and young people.

* * *

THE PLANNED improvements in the development of the social standard during the present Five-Year Plan of Economic Development will proceed in step with the general development of the country's economy, for the Plan gives due attention to a balanced development of the economy and the social standard, which will in turn stimulate faster progress of the country's economy.

TO OUR READERS

A DOUBLE ISSUE OF THE REVIEW OF
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WILL APPEAR
IN SEPTEMBER

BELGRADE CONFERENCE

PRESIDENT TITO'S SPEECH IN TITOVO UŽICE

Josip Broz Tito, President of the Republic, made a speech at the central celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the People's Revolution in Yugoslavia, which took place at Titovo Užice (People's Republic of Serbia) on July 4, 1961.

THE VAST majority of mankind fears the consequences of the present international tension and opposes the present cold war policy and the growth of mistrust and tension in the world. Experience has shown, however, that by themselves the individual non-aligned countries cannot accomplish anything really effective with regard to the improvement of the international climate regardless of how correct and just their attitudes may be: therefore a united, resolute action by the greatest possible number of countries that do not belong to either bloc is necessary. The conference of leaders of the non-aligned countries was also convoked with this objective in view.

The conference of the leaders of the non-aligned countries aims at making the utmost effort to prevent the worst and at discussing the ways and means of emerging from the present blind alley and adopting a constructive approach to the settlement of various international problems. This meeting is a logical sequel to the unsuccessful efforts made thus far by the big powers to resolve the most crucial issues that constantly threaten world peace by themselves without the participation of the small and non-committed countries and outside of the United Nations.

The meetings of the most responsible representatives of the non-committed countries will be a sequel to the initiative taken by the five chiefs of state at the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly and which received full moral support by the Resolution unanimously adopted by the representatives of over 28 countries.

Recently a decision was reached in Cairo that the conference of the leaders of the non-aligned, namely non-committed countries be held in Yugoslavia. This decision marks a great tribute to the role of Yugoslavia in the struggle for peace and international cooperation, while the conference should be of paramount significance for the victory of those principles that should assure the peace and the peaceful settlement of outstanding international problems.

It is clear that the non-committed countries also have their own specific interests. But they also have many things that are important for all and much that is common not only to the non-committed countries but also to mankind as a whole. This primarily refers to their desire and their interest in the establishment of constructive international cooperation, and the quest for ways and means to avoid the greatest catastrophe of all that ever befell this planet. This is the ideal to which one's selfish interests of the individual countries become insignificant when confronted with the interests of the whole world. These interests are gravely

threatened today and hence also the justified interests of every individual nation.

The attempts to prevent the final liquidation of colonialism constitute one of the greatest sources of danger that continuously threatens to provoke a broader armed conflict. Algeria, Congo, Angola, the Union of South Africa, West Irian, Laos and other territories are dangerous potential foci of international conflict.

Assistance to Insufficiently Developed Countries

The vigorous upsurge of liberation movements particularly among the colonial peoples of Africa has confronted the whole world with new tasks which consist in extending the promptest and greatest possible assistance to these countries in order to facilitate and hasten their economic development since it is not their fault that they remained insufficiently developed and backward. Such assistance should be extended primarily by the most highly developed countries of the world. These requirements cannot be satisfied by one or a few countries from one group or the other, but by all countries that possess the necessary economic and technical resources. It is essential in this respect that assistance should be given free of all political or other conditions, without suspicion and various hidden intentions.

Under the pretext that the African countries are threatened by the communist danger which they wish to eliminate, the protagonists of colonial exploitation are striving persistently not only to check the process of decolonization but also to interfere by exerting various forms of pressure, in the internal affairs of the newly independent countries. This is why almost all African and Asian countries, that aspire to an independent foreign policy and internal development are wary of bloc connections. The policy of peace and constructive international cooperation suits these countries best. This is why they resolutely oppose the attempts to transfer the cold war policies to their part of the world. Their inadequate level of development and need for financial resources which would enable them to emerge from their present backwardness as soon as possible render a policy of cooperation with all countries imperative, and, as I have already stated, the receipt of economic assistance free of all political or other conditions.

All these problems will also be discussed at the meeting of the leaders of the non-aligned countries.

Disarmament Problems

Disarmament and the cessation of the armaments race, the prohibition of nuclear tests, weapons — this is doubtless the most difficult and complicated problem that requires an urgent solution. This is a problem which not only deeply affects the big power interests but also affects the vital interest of mankind as a whole. The world lives in constant fear of the eventual use of these terrible means of destruction in a new conflict a new world war while every intelligent person may well ask whether it would not be a thousand times better if at least a small part of the huge defence expenditures were allocated for the insufficiently and underdeveloped countries, for the elimination of the gap between the developed and undeveloped countries and regions and thus remove some of the prime causes underlying the present international conflicts.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONFERENCE OF THE UNCOMMITTED COUNTRIES

On August 3, 1961, the Belgrade daily "BORA" published an article, initialed V. M. under the title "Some Observations on the Conference of the Uncommitted Countries", which is published in our periodical.

THE initiative for the holding of a conference of the uncommitted countries and the preliminary steps taken in this connection have aroused great interest throughout the world. In view of the present development of the international situation and the fact that the opening date of the conference is drawing nearer, this interest is becoming more and more intensive. It is not merely that displayed by the public in the countries which will take part in the conference, who, naturally, regard it as one of the most important foreign political initiatives taken so far, but public opinion in other countries, and leading political figures, too, voice their opinions and evaluations in connection with the forthcoming conference.

As far as it is possible to judge now, the wide publicity, both positive and negative, confirms one fact: the conference of Heads of State and Government of the uncommitted countries will be a political event of primary world importance; in a certain sense, it will be a new phenomenon in international developments, and will reflect the level of development and changes in the progressive evolution through which the international community is now passing.

The attitude towards the conference of the uncommitted countries and towards the policy of non-alignment with military alliances of states, is various and, naturally, political interests determine positive or negative views. At this moment, we should like to refer to some critical remarks which have been made in different countries and for various reasons, with regard to the significance of the role which will be played by the conference of the uncommitted countries in current developments and relations of forces in the world.

It must be stated at the outset that a negative attitude towards the conference is most often displayed by that section of the press which has always been the spokesman of reactionary circles, and which has specialized in the long years of the cold war in attacking, distorting and discrediting the independent and peaceful policy of the uncommitted countries. Continuing to view all new phenomena in the world through the prism of the cold war, and from the angle of its ideological and political exclusiveness and, roughly speaking, supporting the principle: who is not with us is against us, this section of the world press is trying to reduce the prestige and to distort the political significance of the conference of the uncommitted countries even before it starts. All kinds of "information" are being spread throughout the world, together with conclusions which not only present the forthcoming conference in a distorted light, but also try to befog the fundamental conceptions of the independent policy of the uncommitted countries.

"THE THIRD BLOC"

AMONG such tendentious comments, the most prominent are those which pretend to disclose "the real motives" which inspired the calling of the conference. In this, it is often alleged that the secret intention of some of the sponsors of the conference is to form a "third bloc", and that this is its real political meaning and immediate aim. Hints about the pending formation of a third bloc are being persistently repeated, so as to create confusion and arouse doubts in the world generally, as well as among the public in the uncommitted countries in regard to the fundamental criteria of the policy of non-alignment, and to jeopardize the justification of the holding of the Belgrade conference. These malicious attempts to link rumours about a "third bloc" with the first world conference of the uncommitted countries also aim at reaffirming the "realism" of the policy of splitting the world into enclosed economic, political and military groups of states, and also at weakening and suppressing the policy of peaceful coexistence, whose powerful manifestation will be the Belgrade conference.

Rumours of a "third bloc" appeared almost immediately after the news that the conference of the uncommitted countries had been scheduled, as if this conference was a surprise move or called for some new, unknown political aim consisting of nothing more or less than the formation of a new bloc. This reasoning appears to be based on the view that since the world is "inevitably" divided into two opposing military blocs there is no other alternative for the uncommitted countries but to form their own, third bloc, if they wish to have a say in world affairs and strengthen their mutual cooperation. This presumption may appear logical, the more so since it is an incontestable fact that the enlargement of the area of the existing blocs is actually restricted, and since the prospects of such enlargement are now much smaller than they were in the past.

But such an interpretation of the aims of the policy of the uncommitted countries and of their forthcoming conference in Belgrade is completely unfounded and in contradiction to the basic meaning of the policy of non-alignment. The origin and the maturing of this policy, its consolidation and expansion, are not the result of the influence of any specific doctrine or of any uncommitted country or group of countries which possesses an important economic or military potential as an instrument for influencing relations between states. Similarly, the area and active factors of the independent policy of non-alignment are not restricted only to those countries which will take part in the Belgrade conference.

The policy of non-alignment with the military blocs of powers, that is, the policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between all countries, is the result of the contemporary development of the world; it is a reflection of the progressive strivings of the majority of mankind which is undoubtedly striving for the freedom, equality, peace and progress of the world

as a whole. This policy is based on the conception that, in the present age, in the age of nuclear technology and unforeseen possibilities of development of the productive forces, peace and progress in world cannot be ensured by splitting the world community into antagonistic military blocs, or by any corresponding methods and means which arise from such a division of the world. Therefore, the uncommitted countries are not the advocates of either the first or the second, or even of a third bloc, nor do they adapt their policy to the rules equidistance and manoeuvering between groups of states according to the classical conception of neutralism. The uncommitted countries represent a force which can be qualified as the negation of the policy which stands for the division of the world into opposing military groups of states — no matter how different the social and political substance of these groups may be — because, objectively speaking, military groups of states threaten to lead each other and the world as a whole towards the path of self-destruction. That is why the policy of peaceful coexistence, which is followed by the uncommitted countries in their mutual relations and also in their relations with other states, has always been a progressive factor in international developments, the further development of which we conceive as contrary to the formation of a "third bloc", or to the further strengthening and perpetuating of the existing two blocs.

Before the idea of the Belgrade conference was even conceived, and independently of it, the expression "third power" was customarily used when referring to the uncommitted countries. If by the "third power" people understood all those forces which, irrespective of their location, help to affirm the policy of peaceful coexistence between all states, regardless of the differences in their ideologies and social systems, then it is undoubtedly true that the uncommitted countries hold a prominent place in such a "third power". But, if they think that it is merely necessary to announce the holding of the Belgrade conference in order to transform the "third power" into a "third bloc", then they are mistaken, because it is clear that any course towards a further division of the world through the formation of a "third bloc" is in contradiction to the essence of the policy of non-alignment.

Thus, the first conference of the leaders of the uncommitted countries is the logical result of years of long and peaceful cooperation between these countries, and of their constructive activity in the international field. This policy has never meant a passive attitude towards developments on which international cooperation and world peace depend. As relations between states have encountered ever more difficult and dangerous crises, and as the cold war, the dominant political form of relations between the big powers, has retarded international cooperation and hindered the solving of acute international disputes and problems through agreement, the joint action of the uncommitted countries has become an increasingly indispensable necessity to the interests of the world community. It is under such conditions that the first world conference of the uncommitted countries will take place in Yugoslavia, and it will be a strong manifestation of the further strengthening of their role in the present-day world.

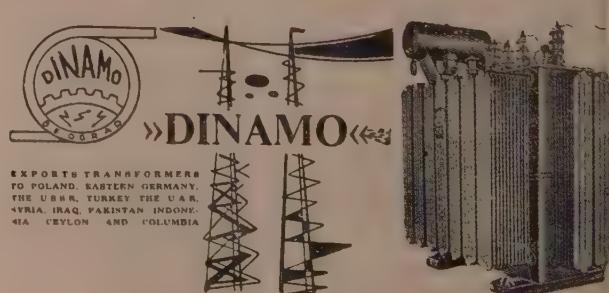
With this in mind, we must presume that those who pretend to see in the conference of the uncommitted countries the outline of a third bloc do not really believe in this and are sure that it is not the case. Thus, the real meaning of the spreading of rumours about the "third bloc" and of the "struggle" against its formation is not because of such a possibility but,

primarily, an endeavour to undermine and weaken constructive cooperation between the uncommitted countries, which is indeed real. The expansion of this cooperation, its greater effectiveness, the strengthening of the influence of the uncommitted countries on world developments, and the strengthening of the independence and consolidation of the internal affairs of every one of these countries: none of this can be regarded as an inducement to form a third bloc. On the contrary, the conference will not only make a contribution to the final removal of the prospects for a new addition to the bloc division of the world, but will strengthen those forces which, wherever they may be, are really fighting for peace, and for the gradual overcoming of the dangerous differences between the existing antagonistic military groups of states.

COLONIALISM

ANOTHER, widespread criticism of the role of the conference of the uncommitted countries is made in the Western press in connection with the attitude of these countries towards the problem of colonialism. As far as these criticisms are concerned, it is undoubtedly true that the uncommitted countries are consistent supporters of the complete abolition of the obsolete system of colonialism. A large majority of the delegates to the forthcoming conference will, in fact, be from the countries of Africa and Asia which have until recently been subject to foreign domination. No one should doubt that the countries which will take part in this conference will continue to support all peoples who are fighting for their liberation. In cooperation with many other states, these countries have been doing so quite independently of the very idea of the Belgrade conference. With the active participation of these countries, the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly last year endorsed the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Nations. No member-country of the United Nations voted against this Declaration, not even Portugal.

On what grounds are some Western papers already labelling the Belgrade conference "aimed against the West"? The supporters of colonialism first proclaim the interests of the small colonialist circles, not only as the general national interests of their countries, but also as the vital interests of the entire West, so that every anti-colonialist move is branded as some kind of anti-Western policy. On the basis of this, some circles have come to the conclusion that the gathering in Belgrade will not be a "genuine conference of the uncommitted countries, because it will serve the "Eastern bloc". The suggestion is that someone suggested the inclusion of the problem of colonialism



in the agenda of the Belgrade conference only to give the conference an "anti-Western character".

At present, nobody — with the exception of the obsolete and adventuristic policy of the narrow colonialist circles in individual countries — disputes the fact that the question of the final and complete abolition of colonialism is not only a historical necessity, but also a vital and urgent need of the whole world community, which has long ago emerged from the era when colonial conquests, oppression, and exploitation of other countries was considered, on the basis of the right of the stronger, as an inevitable part of the international order. The fact that the United Nations has declared itself in favour of the abolition of colonialism confirms the foolishness and the danger of attempts which are still being made by colonialist circles to preserve their colonial positions and privileges by force of arms.

The uncommitted countries, naturally, can only strongly support all the peoples who are fighting against imperialism and colonialism and for their national independence and freedom at their forthcoming conference in Belgrade. If, on the basis of this, individual papers in the West judge in advance the conference of the uncommitted countries primarily as "directed against the West", then they have only themselves to blame, because it is they who identify the interests of the Western countries with the narrow interests of the colonialist circles. The sooner these circles change their policy the better it will be for the interests of the countries involved, for the relations between East and West, and for international relations and peace in the world.

The political forces in the world which are fighting for peace are also fighting for the final eradication of all the remnants of the system of colonialism. Thus, these forces can only support the conference in Belgrade. In connection with this, it must be emphasized that nothing can be served by speculating as to whether the conference will be more "against the West" or more "for the East" by predicting the attitudes that the uncommitted countries will adopt towards various problems on the agenda of the conference. Such an approach to the conference is typical of the cold war view of all manifestations and developments. The independent policy of the uncommitted countries has never been guided by any considerations of this kind, and it is certain that it will not be guided by such criteria at the Belgrade conference either, because such countries have never considered themselves compelled to make a choice between one or the other side, but have always adopted their view on the basis of their own convictions and in harmony with the interests of cooperation between all countries in the spirit of the principle of peaceful coexistence of nations.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN UNCOMMITTED COUNTRIES

A SECTION of the Western press publishes articles which predict, or express the desire for the failure of the conference of the uncommitted countries. These articles say that there are great political differences between the uncommitted countries, apart from still greater differences in their internal social and state organization. Emphasizing the political heterogeneity of the first conference of this kind in the world, these articles predict that it will not be possible to adopt any unanimous view on the matters discussed.

It is true that there are considerable differences between the uncommitted countries, and this is natural

and normal. But experience has shown that these differences have never been an obstacle to successful cooperation between these countries in the political, economic, cultural and other fields, and in fact that they encourage and stimulate this cooperation. In their mutual cooperation and in their joint activities in the international sphere, these countries have never been concerned with the differences which exist between them, but have always taken as their starting point the aims and interests which are common to them all, and which are not only theirs. It is due to this that they have been able to agree on almost all the essential problems of the present-day world, such as the consolidation of peace in the world, the abolition of colonialism, disarmament, the establishment of new, more just economic relations between the developed and the underdeveloped regions of the world, the reduction of East-West tension, and the need for general improvement in international relations in the spirit of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

It is a fact that the said differences have not weakened cooperation between these countries, but that this cooperation has been constantly improving, while the differences remain a lawful and normal expression of the different historical conditions under which the individual countries have developed in the past. The conference in Belgrade will not change anything in this respect, nor has it been called for this purpose.

As we are discussing the differences between the uncommitted countries, we should emphasize that differences of various kinds are in no way a specific feature of these countries alone. Significant differences also exist between the countries which are members of the military blocs. But this is of no importance in the "argument" against the prospects of the successful outcome of the conference of the uncommitted countries. This argument is based on the belief, which is too discredited in the world to be publicly advocated, that reliance on force is the only "realistic" policy in international relations, and that the uncommitted countries have no such material, or to put it more precisely, military force, so that their conference can serve no useful purpose.

The postwar development of relations in the world has produced evidence of the steady growth of the influence of the uncommitted countries. The growth of this influence is, in every case, greater than the growth of the productive forces and of the economic strength of these countries, although the economic basis of their independence has, since the elimination of colonialism and foreign exploitation, been expanding and strengthening from day to day.

When speaking of the economic strength or weakness of countries, it should be emphasized that the uncommitted countries have been most responsible for the fact that this matter is now treated as one of the fundamental problems of our time. It is becoming more and more obvious that there can be no talk about international stability and peace, about the overcoming of contradictions between the military groups of states, without a new and fundamentally different policy towards the reduction of the gap which now exists between the developed and the underdeveloped regions of the world. The discrimination against and economic exploitation of backward regions, which were under colonial domination until recently, the setting up of exclusive economic organization of the developed countries on a bloc basis — all this cannot further the development of equal international cooperation, or the promotion of peace and progress in the world. Therefore, we may justly

hope that the forthcoming conference of the uncommitted countries will pay due attention to this question of the economic "strength" or "weakness" of countries, i.e., to the question of establishing a new basis for economic relations between countries, in the spirit of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The strength or weakness of every political line is best revealed in practice, i.e., by the results which it attains, and by the prospects which such a line opens. In this respect, it is not superfluous to recall the fact that the cold war is now entering its second decade as a dominating form of relations between the big powers, and this gives a correspondingly unfavourable direction to all international developments. But in spite of all this, it has been shown that these developments do not favour the expansion of the cold war conceptions regarding the division of the world, either through any further grouping of States in the existing blocs, or through the formation of a new bloc. At the same time, experience has shown that the area of the independent policy of non-alignment has been constantly expanding, and that this process is continuing, both regarding the orientation of the newly-liberated states and regarding the strengthening of the prestige of the peaceful policy of the uncommitted countries in the world generally.

In our opinion, cooperation between States, as well as between men, does not depend primarily on similarities or differences between partners, but on the aims which these partners seek to achieve, on the principles on which their mutual relations are based; and peaceful cooperation between the uncommitted countries has never depended on the differences which exist between them, nor has it been burdened by endeavours to belittle or eliminate these lawful differences by artificial means. The calling of the first world conference of the uncommitted countries can be taken as a sure proof that cooperation between these countries is strengthening and not weakening.

ATTACK ON THE CONFERENCE FROM "POSITIONS OF ANTI-IMPERIALISM"

Among the critics of the conference is the official paper of the Indonesian Communist Party — Rian Akyat — which, in its issue of July 25, published an article expressing the official attitude of the Foreign Political Department of the Party's Central Committee on this matter. This article voiced doubts as to whether the policy of the uncommitted countries was really peaceful, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist. The paper of the Indonesian Communist Party alleged that the conference in Belgrade might have an unpeaceful character, that is, that it might serve the aims of imperialism.

Suspecting various countries of "being undependable" and of "dependence on imperialism", this paper, referring to the character and role of the forthcoming conference, mentioned two other "suspicious circumstances": first, that Yugoslavia was a signatory of the Balkan Pact, and that, as host to the conference, she asked for the assistance of the United Nations Secretariat (in providing translators and typists) "this", the paper of the Indonesian Communist Party said, "might enable imperialists who still have a strong position in the United Nations to intensify their interference through yet another channel".

These are the fundamental arguments of the paper of the Indonesian Communist Party which, at the conclusion of its article, stated that the task of its country would be to watch carefully the behaviour of the suspicious participants in the Belgrade conference.

As we see, the paper of the Indonesian Communist

Party has joined that section of the world press which is attacking in advance the conference of the uncommitted countries. Nothing is essentially changed by the fact that this paper, in an endeavour to dissociate itself from the attacks on the conference made by right-wing circles, emphasizes that it is criticizing the conference from the "left-wing" viewpoint, and so condemning the conference in the name of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. If the paper of the Indonesian Communist Party is trying to induce us by these arguments to be even "greater" anti-imperialists and anti-colonialists than we are in fact, then we can only say that we have no intention of waging this kind of "struggle" against imperialism.

But, let us leave aside the question whether the paper of the Indonesian Communist Party is, in this particular case, best qualified to discuss the problem of the dependence or independence of individual countries or political forces in one country in regard to "other foreign countries". As far as we are concerned, we know what the paper of the Indonesian Communist Party thinks about us, primarily on the basis of its earlier articles on Yugoslavia. For many years, this paper has not dared inform its readers about the real facts of Yugoslavia's foreign policy and her internal socialist development. It has been pursuing, not the Indonesian, but another well-known political course of attacking Yugoslavia as an independent uncommitted country and a socialist factor. And this is not all. This paper is one of the few in Indonesia — quite unsuccessful, fortunately — which are against friendship between their country and Yugoslavia. The paper of the Indonesian Communist Party continues to pursue this policy, and it appears to consider this occasion to be another opportunity of launching an attack on Yugoslavia because of the conference, and on the conference because of Yugoslavia. It is unnecessary to emphasize that the forces which are really fighting for peace and international cooperation, and against colonialism and imperialism, among which Yugoslavia has its place, can have nothing in common with such conceptions or methods.

We do not think that the struggle for peace and progress in the world is anyone's monopoly. It is certain that the forthcoming conference of the uncommitted countries will not want to assume such a role, but it is equally certain that the uncommitted countries cannot be passive observers of what is happening in the world and what affects their vital interests. As has been shown by postwar experience, no successful solution can be found to acute international problems or to the problem of consolidating world peace without the active and direct efforts of the uncommitted countries.

Just as we consider that the struggle for peace is no-one's monopoly, so are we aware that cooperation between the uncommitted countries can exert a positive influence on world developments, and on the problems of peace and war as the crucial problems of our time. The fact that the latest deterioration in relations between the big powers coincides with the preparations for the Belgrade conference only increases its justifiability and necessity.

We do not doubt that the forthcoming conference which, as shown here, is exposed to suspicions from various quarters, will justify the hopes, sympathy and support of that part of the world public which is striving for understanding and friendship between nations, for peaceful cooperation on the basis of freedom, equality and independence of all states, and for peace and general progress in the world as a whole.

V.M.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE ON YUGOSLAV-ITALIAN TALKS

At the end of the Yugoslav-Italian talks, led by the Italian Foreign Minister, Antonio Segni, and the Yugoslav State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Koča Popović, the following joint communique was issued in Beograd:

"At the invitation of the Yugoslav State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Koča Popović, the Italian Foreign Minister, Antonio Segni, paid an official visit to Yugoslavia from June 28 to July 1, 1961. During his visit, Mr. Segni was received by the President of the Republic, Josip Broz Tito, and had talks with the Foreign Secretary, Koča Popović.

"On behalf of Yugoslavia, the talks were attended by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Veljko Mićunović, Assistant State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr Jože Brilej, the Yugoslav Ambassador in Rome, Mihajlo Javorski, the Chief of the Political Department of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Salko Fejić, the Minister Plenipotentiary at the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Nenad Popović, and other officials, and on the part of Italy by Giovanni Fornari, Director-General of the Political Department and Ambassador of the Republic of Italy in Yugoslavia, Mr Alberto Berio, Mr Giovanni Vincenzo Sorro, Assistant Director-General for Economic Affairs, Mr Alessandro Marieni, Head of the Press Office, Mr Federico Sensi, Head of the Cabinet of His Excellency the Minister and other officials of the Italian Foreign Ministry.

"During the talks which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and sincerity, the development of the two countries' relations was discussed and views were exchanged on some international problems.

"The two Ministers expressed their satisfaction at the successful development of Italian-Yugoslav relations, which is best illustrated by Signor Segni's visit to Beograd and the visit which Koča Popović earlier paid to Italy.

"These contacts and increasingly frequent mutual visits of the representatives of the two Governments, not only contribute towards better mutual understanding and strengthen cooperation between the two countries, but also improve the general international atmosphere, the more so because Yugoslav-Italian relations are an obvious example that differences in the social and political systems do not prevent successful cooperation between countries.

"After having thoroughly reviewed various problems of the present international situation and concluded that certain aspects of this situation give rise to grave concern in view of the still outstanding questions which constantly threaten world peace, the two Ministers agreed that all countries — big and small — must increase their efforts to find peaceful solutions to such questions, according to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

"They furthermore expressed their conviction that general and controlled disarmament, as well as every step in this direction, would greatly help to lessen international tension.

"The two Ministers welcomed the appearance on the international scene of countries which have recently gained their independence and agreed upon the need to create favourable conditions as soon as possible so that these countries would be able to use all their energy for their development and pay their contribution to the international community. The two Ministers further agreed that these countries should be given the opportunity of establishing effective economic and technical cooperation with other countries, with no strings attached, and thus

enable them to speed up the process of development.

"During the talks, particular attention was devoted to the present situation in bilateral relations.

"The two Ministers expressed satisfaction at the significant results achieved in the field of economic relations and trade. In order to take fuller advantage of the existing possibilities for increasing trade between the two countries, the two Ministers agreed that the signing of new trade agreements should be speeded up. It was concluded that industrial and technical cooperation had likewise yielded fruitful results, which proves that there are favourable conditions for economic cooperation between the two countries.

"The promotion of cultural cooperation was also discussed during the talks and it was concluded that cooperation in this field is constantly expanding. The application of the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation improves the prospects for the further promotion of this cooperation.

"The further increase in inter-frontier traffic, which has made the regions in point a zone of intensive mutual ties, was also welcomed at the talks.

"Considering other questions of bilateral interest, including those relating to the two national minorities, the Ministers concluded that an improvement had been achieved and agree that a solution satisfactory to both sides must be reached. The two Ministers expressed their conviction that the national minorities should be an element which would help establish closer mutual relations and better understanding.

"In conclusion, the two Ministers expressed their belief that the two countries' cooperation in all fields could be further promoted and strengthened, and they expressed the readiness of their Governments to improve the two countries' relations, on the basis of cooperation and good-neighbourly relations."

THE WIDELY DISTRIBUTED

POLITICA DEGLI SCAMBI

intends to contribute to the scientific analysis of two leading factors of the world economic equilibrium:

- EAST—WEST TRADE
- ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Administrative and Editorial Offices:

Via Canova 38 — Milano — tel. 341.456

Price of each number . . . Lit. 700 Lst. 0.9.0

Yearly subscription . . . Lit. 4000 Lst. 2.12.0

A SPECIMEN COPY WILL BE SENT ON REQUEST.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE ON YUGOSLAV-SOVIET TALKS

A joint Soviet-Yugoslav communique on the visit of the Yugoslav State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Koča Popović, to Moscow was issued in Beograd and Moscow yesterday. The communique reads:

"In accordance with the agreement reached, the Yugoslav State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Koča Popović, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from July 7 to 13, 1961.

"During his stay, Koča Popović was received by the President of the Soviet Ministerial Council, N. S. Khrushchev, and the First Vice-President of the Ministerial Council, A. I. Mikoyan. He also met the Soviet Foreign Minister A. Gromyko.

"At the talks, which were held in a friendly atmosphere, views were exchanged on Soviet-Yugoslav relations and also on major international problems.

"Both sides expressed their satisfaction that Soviet-Yugoslav relations were developing normally and that the two countries' attitudes on fundamental international questions were either 'similar' or identical. They expressed the hope that cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the struggle for peace and the lessening of international tension would continue to develop successfully.

"Koča Popović and his suite visited an air show at the Tushin Airfield, inspected a number of new settlements now being built, saw an exhibition of the achievements of Soviet economy, and paid a visit to Leningrad.

"It was confirmed during the talks that the Soviet Foreign Minister, A. Gromyko, is to visit Yugoslavia at a date to be fixed at some future time."

For Yugoslavia, the talks were attended by Mijalko Todorović, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, Koča Popović, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Marjan Brecelj, member of the Federal Executive Council, Bogdan Crnobrnja, Secretary-General to the President, Josip Djerdja, State Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Slavoljub Petrović, Departmental Chief in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Dr Zvonko Perišić, Yugoslav Ambassador to Ghana, and Aleksandar Božović, Councillor in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

For Ghana, the Yugoslav-Ghanaian talks were attended by Krobo Edussen, Minister of Transport and Communications, Tawia Adamaphio, Minister for Presidential Affairs, Wellington Kumah, Ghanaian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, M. F. Dei-Annang, Chief Secretary in the Secretariat for African Affairs, E. K. Okoh, Assistant Government Secretary, J. O. T. Eggieman, Chief Secretary in the Ministry of Trade, Amoako Atta, Governor of the Bank of Ghana, T. W. Bicham, Chief Assistant Secretary in the President's Cabinet, and Ossei-Tutu, Senior Assistant Secretary in the Ghanaian Foreign Ministry.

The two Presidents exchanged views on international problems. They devoted particular attention to the current international situation and concluded with apprehension that this situation had obviously deteriorated and that it threatened directly the preservation of world peace.

The two Presidents expressed their conviction that the present division of the world into groups of powers was one of the main causes of the permanent sharpening of the international situation, and that the policy of active and peaceful coexistence between states and nations, irrespective of their political and social systems, was the only reasonable alternative to the policy of force.

For this reason, the two statesmen attached great importance to the forthcoming conference of Heads of State and Government of the uncommitted countries in Belgrade, and expressed their deep belief that this conference would play a very important and constructive role in the efforts to reduce tension, to solve key international problems by means of negotiations, and to establish lasting peace in the world.

During their talks, the two Presidents expressed their anxiety that the disarmament talks had not yet produced any results, and that the armaments race was being intensified to a very dangerous degree. The two Presidents agreed that the solution of this problem should be approached in a constructive way, in order to find a mutual basis for the reaching of agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. They held the view that any initial degree of disarmament even the least would have a positive influence on international relations and facilitate the reaching of such agreement.

President Tito and President Nkrumah considered that the anticolonial and peaceloving forces of the world should immediately pool their forces to liquidate the remnants of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. They agreed that colonialism represents a complete negation of the basic rights of men and nations, and that it seriously threatens world peace. On the other hand, they considered that the resistance of the colonial powers to the struggle against colonialism, and the ruthless measures which they were adopting in order to preserve colonialism and all its forms, represented a still greater danger to peace and progressive development in general.

The two Presidents expressed their support for the efforts of Tunisia to secure full respect of her sovereignty and to bring about a withdrawal of foreign troops from her territory. They considered that the recent events in Tunisia which coincided with the mounting tension over Berlin, represented dangerous threat to world peace.

The two Presidents condemned the inhuman crimes committed by the Portuguese colonialists in Angola, and expressed their solidarity with the people of Angola and of other countries in Africa and other parts of the world.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE on the visit of Dr Kwame Nkrumah to Yugoslavia

In connection with the official visit to Yugoslavia of Dr Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, an official Yugoslav-Ghanaian communique was signed on the Island of Brioni. The communique reads:

AT THE invitation of Josip Broz Tito, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, paid an official visit to Yugoslavia from August 3 to 8, 1961.

During his stay, the Ghanaian President and his associates visited many parts of Yugoslavia, including the towns of Belgrade, Zagreb, Karlovac, Ljubljana, Rijeka, Bled and the Island of Brioni.

Visits paid to a number of farming estates and industrial enterprises and scientific institutions made it possible for President Nkrumah to get acquainted with the achievements made in the economic and social development of Yugoslavia.

During their meetings, the two Presidents had an opportunity of discussing questions of interest to both sides, and the present international situation, in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

still under colonial rule, who are struggling for liberty and independence.

The two statesmen condemned the racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa as one of the most brutal forms of colonialism.

President Tito and President Nkrumah expressed their persistent support for the just struggle of the Algerian people for freedom and considered it necessary to reach agreement, through negotiations between the Provisional Algerian Government and the French Government, which would satisfy the just demand of the Algerian people for independence and respect of the country's territorial integrity.

The two Presidents acknowledged and gave full support to the efforts of the Congolese people to solve the question of the Congo. They expressed their hope that these efforts would be directed against any further foreign interference and towards the preservation of the independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Congo.

The two statesmen agreed that economic and other forms of assistance to the underdeveloped countries and regions, without any political or other conditions, were among the most important prerequisites for the overcoming of the gap dividing the developed and underdeveloped countries, which would necessarily lead to a general improvement of the international situation.

The two Presidents considered that the United Nations Organization should play a positive role in preserving peace in the world. For this purpose, the World Organization should adjust itself to the new relations in the world and should act more consistently in harmony with the principles and objectives of its Charter.

President Tito and President Nkrumah devoted great care to the relations between Yugoslavia and Ghana, and they concluded with great satisfaction that these relations had reached a high level of friendship and mutual co-operation.

The exchanges of views in New York and Accra, as well as the exchange of information made afterwards, helped Yugoslavia and Ghana adopt identical attitudes on major international issues. Considering all forms of this cooperation as favourable, the two Presidents expressed their readiness to continue their consultations in the future.

After having considered all aspects of bilateral cooperation, the two statesmen agreed that both sides sincerely wished to start as soon as possible to carry out the agreements already signed between the two countries.

President of the Federal People's
Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito

President of the Republic of Ghana,
Dr Kwame Nkrumah

Island of Brioni, August 7, 1961.

OUR CURRENT ACCOUNT

"THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS" HAS CURRENT ACCOUNT AT
NATIONAL BANK AND IT READS

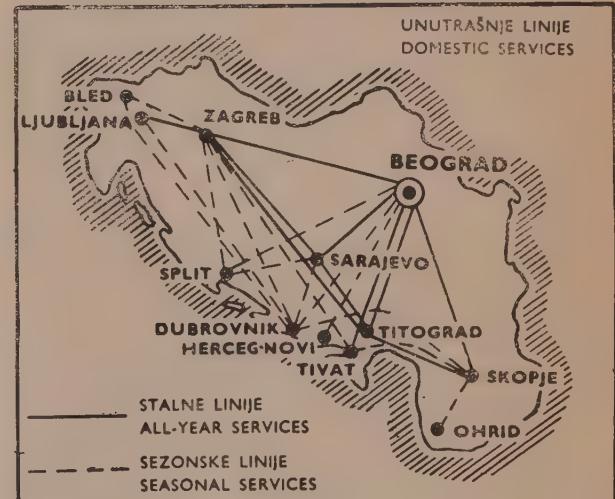
101-14

31806/123

JAT



Fly by JAT



J A T

AEROPLANES

FOR A QUICK AND
COMFORTABLE
JOURNEY
TO YUGOSLAVIA

JUGOSLOVENSKI AEROTRANSPORT

PRESIDENT TITO'S STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN BIZERTA

Some time ago, Josip Broz Tito, President of the Republic, made a press statement on the international situation and on developments in Bizerta:

THE latest developments in the world show that we are again on the brink of war. The danger which the world is now facing is a serious one. The fact is that those who have great military power at their disposal no longer speak of peace, but of war. The present situation appears to me to be somewhat similar to the situation which prevailed immediately before the Second World War. States are being feverishly armed with the most destructive weapons; instead of reducing the armed forces, preparations are being made to mobilize new contingents, and the already shaky bridges on the roads towards the peaceful solving of international disputes are being destroyed. New sources of possible war conflicts are constantly appearing in various parts of the world. Laos, Angola, Algeria, Congo, South Africa, Berlin, Western Irian, Kuwait, Cuba, and the latest act of aggression against Tunisia, which was due to the dispute over Bizerta — all restrict the prospect of preserving peace.

"Fruitless talks are held and weapons are sharpened for a showdown by force. Aggressive military acts are becoming ever more frequent and are bringing the world nearer to the universal roar of guns. The latest aggressive action against the people of Tunisia, all because of the military base in Bizerta, is an ominous sign of the danger, not only of the intractability of military circles, but of far-reaching plans against the independence of Tunisia and certain other African countries. In this connection, some countries are acting as if they wished to take advantage of the tension over the Berlin problem to promote their own colonialist and imperialist aims.

"Those hundreds of men, women and children who were killed during the fighting in Bizerta are yet another reason why the peaceloving forces should take urgent steps and stop, while it is still possible, such irresponsible gambling with the fate of the world. Individual statements and appeals are no longer sufficient or effective; what is necessary are energetic measures on the part of all the peaceful forces in the world. It is now more than at any time since the Second World War necessary to raise a powerful voice of condemnation of and protest against irresponsible attempts to plunge the world into a great catastrophe.

"Common sense makes people fear the uncertainty in which the world now finds itself. Those who engage in the dangerous game of threats of war forget that

we are at a point when statesmen may become powerless to control the situation, and then a catastrophe would be inevitable.

"I am profoundly convinced that this fear is shared by all peaceloving people in the world, and that they agree with the view that this time we must all demand that the gambling which keeps the world on the brink of war should be stopped, and that the road of peaceful solving of disputes should be taken".

PRESIDENT TITO'S MESSAGE TO THE VIIth WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST THE USE OF ATOMIC BOMBS

President Tito addressed the following message to the VIIth World conference against the use of Atomic bombs and thermonuclear weapons and for total disarmament, which was held in Tokyo from August 9 to 14:

"In addressing my cordial greetings to the participants of the VIIth World Conference against the use of atomic bombs and thermonuclear weapons and for total disarmament I beg you to convey, in the name of the people of Yugoslavia and in my own name, our best wishes for prosperity and success in the struggle for the securing of world peace.

"Although for many years the peaceful forces of the world have put forth their greatest efforts to ensure the necessary conditions for the constructive solution of major international problems, the present situation, far from being improved, is very uncertain and disquieting because of the dangerous symptoms which tend to forebode the outbreak of a new conflict which would plunge the world into the most terrible of catastrophes.

"For this reason it is more than ever necessary to take the most energetic and urgent measures to solve in a peaceful way contentious international problems, to stop the dangerous armament race, to forbid the use of nuclear weapons, to come to an agreement on disarmament, and to guarantee the strict respect and application of the principles of the UNO Charter.

"As in the past, the people and government of Yugoslavia support, by their peaceful policy, positive proposals and initiatives whose aim is to solve these problems.

"I am convinced that your Conference will contribute toward the efforts and aspirations of all peace loving forces in the world, and I send you my sincere wishes for success in your work".

THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION AND THE LAW

Mohammed Badjaoui, LA REVOLUTION ALGERIENNE ET LE DROIT, Préface de Pierre Cot, Editions de l'Association Internationale des Juristes Démocrates, 1961.

THIS book appeared at the time when the Evian conference between the delegations of the Algerian Provisional Government and the French Government was taking place. It is of special interest because it has been written by a well-known Algerian lawyer who took part in the Evian Conference as legal adviser to the Algerian delegation. The significance of this book, which is an analysis of the legal aspects of the just struggle of the Algerian people for independence from 1954 to this day, lies in the fact that it also indicates the basic political aspects of the struggle of the National Liberation Front (FLN) and the Algerian Provisional Government. In point of fact, by indicating the legal characteristics of this struggle, the book actually illustrates its course of development up to the present, beginning with the first armed struggles against the French oppressors and covering the formation of the first organized military units and the Algerian Army of Liberation (ALN), the creation of the bodies of authority, the Algerian Provisional Government and other central bodies of the Algerian Revolution which today constitute the only lawful representatives of the Algerian people's struggle for national liberation and the formation of an independent state. Parallel with the internal legal development of the Algerian Revolution, the book analyses its international legal aspects. It expounds the evolution of the attitude of the French Governments and the French Army, an attitude which from an absolute denial of the legality of the struggle of the Algerian insurgents gradually evolved in a realistic manner and through the application of a number of measures entailing legal consequences, and led to the recognition of the militant character of the armed conflict between the ALN and the French Army and the *de facto* recognition of the Provisional Government and the FLN, and ultimately to the acceptance of the proposal for convening the Evian Conference to determine the conditions for the implementation of the Algerian people's right to self-determination. Parallel with this, the struggle of the Provisional Government gained increasing international recognition, which found full expression at the meetings of the United Nations' General Assembly and in the recognition accorded to this Government by 25 countries. The Algerian Provisional Government has taken part in a number of international conferences and has thus confirmed the international recognition of its right to represent the Algerian people.

The entire analysis which the author has made in this book shows once again that the struggle against colonialism, legally sanctioned in the United Nations' Charter and understood as one of the basic aspects of modern, universal international law, makes it possible to interpret the evolution and the present status of the Algerian Provisional Government and the FLN in such a way that the demands put forward by the Algerian delegation at Evian are seen as not only politically justified but also as having an entirely legal basis. This is especially true of the analysis of the Sahara problem, in which the author has illustrated the legal basis of the Algerian demand for the integration of the Sahara into Algerian territory. This is based on the historical expansion of Algerian territory in the area of the

Sahara, a fact which France did not deny at earlier negotiations on the methods of granting independence to other African countries. In fact, the author has shown that in this, just as in other aspects of the Algerian problem, the essence of the conflict is not in the law but in the political interests of the interested parties. After all, the French demand for the separation of the Sahara from Algeria was made just at the moment when the victorious course of the Algerian Revolution began to threaten French interests in the Sahara.

This explains the significance of the book we are reviewing here, for by illustrating the evolution of the legal aspects of the Algerian people's struggle, it indicates this struggle's political rise and success.

The book, however, also refers to the present tasks of the Algerian Revolution. The author briefly outlines the different ways in which the people's right to self-determination might be implemented in Algeria and thus indicates a new chapter in the struggle of the Algerian Provisional Government and the FLN which began in Evian, but which has not yet been completed. While waiting for this chapter to be written, it is to be hoped that the French side in the negotiations will eventually realise that the recognition of a people's right to self-determination requires far greater responsibility and consistency than they appeared willing to show in the course of the first stage of the negotiations at Evian. This, however, is a question which calls for a separate and more exhaustive discussion. In the meantime, until the conditions which will enable Dr Badjaoui to write a new book on the implementation of the Algerian people's right to self-determination are created, it ought to be said that his first book on the legal aspects of the Algerian people's struggle for liberation up to the present not only leads to a better understanding of these aspects but also indicates how contemporary international law should be applied in the interests of the progressive forces of society.

Points from the Press Conferences

On June 30 and July 14, Drago Kunc, Spokesman of the Yugoslav State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, held press conferences for Yugoslav and foreign journalists and answered questions on current world problems.

JUNE 30,

Discontinuance of Nuclear Tests. — "We have always considered that the banning of nuclear tests would constitute an important, initial measure in the field of disarmament which, if accepted, would create more favourable conditions for solving the problem as a whole, that is, for stimulating the process leading to general and complete disarmament. The procedure to be applied, that is to say, the degree of agreement established in the consideration of individual measures and the problem as a whole, is a matter depending on the practical appraisal as to what is most likely to produce results in the given conditions. We think that the negotiations on the discontinuance of nuclear tests have now reached the point where it is political issues, and no longer technical matters, that obstruct final agreement".

Berlin. — "In our opinion, it is essential to start negotiations and exert the maximum effort for at least a partial and compromise settlement of the issue. The present situation in Berlin is an anachronism and a source of constant friction. In view of this, more constructive and patient efforts should be exerted, primarily by those directly responsible, to prevent the further deterioration of the world situation. In our opinion, this is the only

effective way to reach a compromise solution of the problem".

Visit of U.A.R. Parliamentary Delegation. — "The fact that the members of the U.A.R. delegation, led by Anuar El Sadat, the distinguished President of Parliament, are all outstanding personalities, reflects the friendly feelings entertained by the United Arab Republic towards Yugoslavia. I think that the sincere sympathy felt by the Yugoslav peoples for the people of the U.A.R. has been confirmed through the cordial welcome accorded to the U.A.R. delegation by representatives of our Parliament, Government and people. We are especially pleased that the U.A.R. Parliamentary Delegation will visit Titovo Užice, where the main celebration of the jubilee anniversary of our national revolution will be held".

Co-operation of African Peoples. — "We sincerely endorse the efforts of the Presidents of Ghana, the Mali Republic and Guinea for closer ties and co-operation between the African peoples and countries".

Anti-Yugoslav Campaign. — "Regarding the anti-Yugoslav campaign which has lately been conducted in Hungary and Bulgaria, and to a certain extent in Rumania, too, we have observed that attempts are being made in various articles to rehabilitate the long since discredited resolution of the Cominform, with resort to slanders, both old and new, and misinformation — a practice that does not help to improve relations with Yugoslavia".

JULY 14,

Work of Ambassadors' Committee. — "The Committee of Ambassadors has successfully ended its meetings in Cairo. It now remains for Yugoslavia, as the host-country of the conference of heads of state, to carry out the necessary consultations, that is, to send invitations to the countries which the meeting of the Committee in Cairo proposed should attend the conference in Belgrade".

Nkrumah's Visit. — "The visit of Dr Nkrumah is of special significance since he will arrive here shortly before the conference of leading statesmen of the uncommitted countries, one of the chief aims of which will be to study ways for the settlement of basic international problems. The prominent rôle played by Dr Nkrumah in these efforts is generally known".

Mamadou Dia in Yugoslavia. — "The visit of Mamadou Dia, Prime Minister of Senegal, to Yugoslavia, will help to establish closer ties between Yugoslavia and Senegal, and promote mutual understanding".

Protest by Austrian Ambassador. — "Asked whether the Austrian ambassador had made a protest in connection with the recent violation of the Yugoslav-Austrian frontier, allegedly by Yugoslav frontier-guards, Drago Kunc replied in the affirmative. The protest, however, was rejected as unfounded, following an investigation into the incident by competent Yugoslav organs, when it was established that there had been no illegal crossing of the frontier in the area of the Karawancken on June 30, nor any violation of Austrian territory in the Maribor area on July 2. Referring to the matter, Drago Kunc said: "I wish to stress that we were surprised by the campaign, that is, the amount of publicity given to these ostensible incidents by a large part of the Austrian press. This certainly cannot help to advance good neighbourly relations".

Sharpening of Austro-Italian Relations. — "Yugoslavia is interested, in principle, in open issues between states being solved by way of negotiation and agreement, and especially when neighbouring countries are involved. It is from this viewpoint that we regard the events in Southern Tyrol, which are assuming dangerous forms and proportions, as shown by the acts of violence, sabotage and subversive activity which are taking place with growing frequency. Such incidents are to be deplored".

Yugoslav-British Trade Talks. — "These talks were held in order to review the development of economic relations between the two countries up till now, and to examine the possibilities for advancing economic relations in 1961 and 1962. The development of economic relations in the past period was appraised as satisfactory, since trade exchanges have increased year by year. A further increase is to be expected in the future, too, as a result of Yugoslavia's growing economic potential in the production of goods for which there is a great demand on the British market, on the one hand, and the notably increased British exports to Yugoslavia of complete industrial equipment, on the other. Within this context, the delivery of equipment for the Iron Works in Skoplje is especially noteworthy".

Meetings and Talks

AT OFFICIAL LEVEL

Koča Popović in Moscow. — Koča Popović, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from July 7 to 13, as head of a Yugoslav delegation. He was received by Nikita Khrushchev, President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Mikočyan, first Vice-President of the Council. The ministers of the two countries held political talks.

Japanese Parliamentarians in Yugoslavia. — A Japanese Parliamentary Delegation headed by Ichiro Kiso, President of the Lower House of Parliament, stayed in Yugoslavia from July 5 to 8, as guests of the Federal People's Assembly. The Delegation had talks in Belgrade with Petar Stambolić, President of the Federal People's Assembly, and other senior political officials.

Pavle Gregorić in Moscow and Ulan Bator. — Dr Pavle Gregorić, Vice-President of the Federal People's Assembly, attended the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic of Mongolia in Ulan Bator. On July 8, on his way to Mongolia, he visited Moscow.

Anniversary of Iraki Revolution. — Nikola Sekulić, Vice-President of the Croatian People's Assembly, attended the celebration of the third anniversary of the Iraki Revolution, held in Baghdad on July 13.

Visitor from Ghana. — Samuel Neti, Ghanaian Commissary for Labour, visited Yugoslavia in the first half of July. At a meeting with Ljupčo Arsov, Member of the Federal Executive Council and Secretary for Labour, he expressed interest in some basic questions relating to the development of Yugoslav working and social legislation.

Pakistani Minister of Labour in Yugoslavia. — General Vaid Ali Burki, Pakistani Minister of Labour, Social Policy and Health, stayed in Belgrade early in July as guest of Ljupčo Arsov, Member of the Federal Executive Council and Secretary for Labour. The senior Pakistani official was interested in the Yugoslav social and health services.

Cambodian Minister of Information in Yugoslavia. — Chan Sen, Cambodian Minister of Information, stayed in Belgrade from July 19 to 22, as guest of the Federal Executive Council, when he had talks with Yugoslav Government officials on co-operation in the field of information.

Visit of U.A.R. Official. — Negid Farid, Secretary General of the President of the U.A.R. visited Yugoslavia towards the end of July. He discussed preparations for the coming conference of the uncommitted countries.

Chester Bowles in Yugoslavia. — Chester Bowles, US Under-Secretary of State, stayed in Yugoslavia from July 29 to 31. He was received on the Island of Brioni by President Tito.

Puniša Perović in Africa. — Puniša Perović, Secretary of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Federal People's Assembly, attended the celebrations of the first independence anniversary of the Ivory Coast and Gabon, as President Tito's special envoy.

THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

Argentine Socialist in Yugoslavia. — Andres Alberto Lopez, member of the Executive of the Argentine Socialist Party, stayed in Yugoslavia from July 1 to 16, as guest of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia. He was interested in the work of the Socialist Alliance and the trade unions, workers' self-management, the land reform and industrialization in this country.

Mayor of Sydney in Belgrade. — Mr. Henry Johnson, Member of the Executive of the Australian Labour Party and Mayor of Sydney, visited Yugoslavia from June 29 to July 10, as guest of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

Predrag Atić in Asia and Africa. — On the invitation of the Indonesian War Veterans' Organization, Predrag Atić, member of the Federal Board of the Yugoslav Federation of War Veterans and Secretary of the Foreign Relations Commission of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, attended the celebration of Indonesia's Independence Day. Later he is to visit the Veterans' Organizations of India, Burma and the United Arab Republic.

Japanese Socialists in Yugoslavia. — A group of leaders of the Japanese Socialist Party have been on a visit to Yugoslavia since August 9 as guests of the Federal Council of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

Visit of Italian Socialists. — A delegation of the Italian Socialist Party was on a visit to Yugoslavia in the first half of August, at the invitation of the Federal Council of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People. The Italian socialists showed great interest in the system of workers' selfmanagement and in economic planning.

THE TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION

Visit of Delegation of Moroccan Labour Union. — A delegation of the Labour Union of Morocco, headed by Mahdjub ben Sedik, Secretary-General of the Union, stayed in Yugoslavia from July 23 to August 1, as guests of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation. A Yugoslav delegation headed by Svetozar Vukmanović, President of the Central Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation, had talks with the Moroccan delegation on the advancement of co-operation. The Moroccan Labour Union officials were received by President Tito.

Japanese Teachers in Yugoslavia. — A delegation of the Japanese Teachers' Union visited Belgrade from July 26 to 30. The visitors were especially interested in the educational system and the organization of workers' education.

Guests from Ceylon. — A group of Ceylonese Trade Union officials were in Belgrade in the first half of August as guests of the Central Council of the Federation of Trade Unions.

French Trade Unionists in Belgrade. — Seven French Trade Unionists paid a visit to Belgrade August 10 and 11 as guests of the Central Council of the Federation of Trade Unions.

Officials of East German Trade Unions in Yugoslavia. — In the first half of August several representatives of the Central Board of the East German Trade Unions visited Yugoslavia. In their talks with representatives of the Yugoslav Trade Unions, the German Trade Unionists showed keen interest in social insurance problems as handled here, and in protection devices in Yugoslav industrial plants.

PEOPLE'S YOUTH ORGANIZATION

Yugoslav Youth Delegation in Moscow. — A delegation of the People's Youth Organization of Yugoslavia attended a meeting of the World Youth Forum held in Moscow from July 23 to August 3. The meeting was attended by youth delegations from all over the world.

Latin American Youth Delegations in Yugoslavia. — Delegations of the Socialist Youth of Argentina, Uruguay and Chile arrived in Belgrade in mid-July for a visit to the People's Youth Organization of Yugoslavia. During their stay of a month and a half, the Latin American youth will tour youth working sites and international youth camps in this country.

OTHER CONTACTS

Yugoslav Journalists in U.A.R. — A delegation of the Yugoslav Journalists' Union attended the celebration of U.A.R. Independence Day held in Cairo on July 19.

Algerian Journalists in Belgrade. — Hadj Hamu, Secretary General of the Ministry of Information of the Algerian Provisional Government, and Abdulah Sharif, Editor-in-Chief of »Mudjahid«, visited Yugoslavia from July 1 to 15 as guests of the Journalists' Union.

Head of the International Monetary Fund's Mission in Belgrade. — A delegation of the Mission of the International Monetary Fund, headed by Gabriel Feras, Head of the Mission, stayed in Belgrade in the first half of July for regular annual consultations with Yugoslav officials.

Visit of Pakistani Agricultural Delegation. — A Pakistani Agricultural Delegation paid a visit to Yugoslavia in the second half of July. The Delegation toured the agricultural and co-operative organizations in Vojvodina and Bosnia and had talks with Dr Slavko Komar, member of the Federal Executive Council.

Delegation of Yugoslav Association of Spanish War Veterans in Rome and Berlin. — Celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the Spanish people's struggle for freedom held in Rome and Berlin on July 19, were attended by representatives of the Yugoslav Association of Spanish Civil War Veterans. About 1,200 Yugoslavs were members of the former international brigades in Spain.

Negotiations and Agreements

Yugoslav-American Co-Operation. — An amendment to the agreement on the purchase of US agricultural surpluses for Yugoslavia was signed in Belgrade on July 1, providing for an increase in deliveries to the value of 33.6 million dollars. The agreement was signed by Jože Brilej, Assistant State Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Mr George Kennan, US Ambassador in Belgrade.

Yugoslav-Czechoslovak Protocol. — A Protocol providing for measures to be undertaken with a view to implementing the Yugoslav-Czechoslovak Trade Agreement for 1961, was signed in Prague on July 5.

Arrangements with Indonesia. — Yugoslav and Indonesian representatives signed an arrangement in Djakarta on July 8, under which the Yugoslav textile industry will process 900,000 dollars worth of crude cotton for Indonesia.

Anglo-Yugoslav Economic Council. — An agreement on the establishment of an Anglo-Yugoslav Council for Economic Co-operation was signed on July 12. The Council includes representatives of the industries, trade and finances of Yugoslavia and Great Britain.

Trade with China. — A Protocol on Trade in 1961 was signed in Peking on July 15 between Yugoslavia and China.

Yugoslav-Indonesian Agreements. — New agreements on Yugoslav-Indonesian economic co-operation and long-term trade were signed in Djakarta on July 30. The agreements were signed for Yugoslavia by Sergej Krajcer, President of the Foreign Trade Committee of the Federal Executive Council, and for Indonesia by Arifin Harhat, Head of the Indonesian Economic Delegation.

Protocol with the Soviet Union. — A Protocol on the meeting of the Yugoslav-Soviet Mixed Commission for Trade was signed in Moscow on July 31.

Agreement with France. — An agreement on a goods credit to the value of 50 million new francs was signed in Paris towards the end of July. The French Government has granted this credit to help carry out the reform of the Yugoslav currency and foreign trade system.

Political Diary

July 4 — The central celebration of the 20th anniversary of the uprising of the Yugoslav people was held in Titovo Užice. A monument to President Tito was unveiled and a Museum of the 1941 uprising opened. A large public meeting, attended by about 200,000 people, was addressed by President Tito. This celebration was attended by delegations of eighteen countries, by representatives of many foreign war veterans' organizations, by a large number of prominent personalities who were on a visit to Yugoslavia at that time, and the heads of 39 diplomatic missions in Belgrade, as well as by foreign military attachés.

July 4 — The World Federation of War Veterans presented a Charter to President Tito on the occasion of its tenth anniversary.

Diplomatic Diary

July 6 — President Tito received Mr Yefishev, Soviet Ambassador to Yugoslavia, at his own request.

July 9 — The President of the Republic named Dr Aleš Bebler Yugoslavia's new Ambassador to Indonesia.

July 14 — President Tito received Danilo Lekić, former Yugoslav Ambassador to Brazil, who handed him a personal message from President Quadros.

July 17 — President Tito received Prince Naradom Nourindat, first Ambassador of the Kingdom of Cambodia to Yugoslavia.

July 17 — President Tito received Mr George Kennan, United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia at his own request.

July 20 — President Tito received Mamada Dia, Prime Minister of Senegal.

July 22 — Marijan Barišić was named Yugoslavia's new Ambassador to Brazil.

July 30 — President Tito received Mr Chester Bowles, United States Under-Secretary of State.

August 2 — Dr Jože Brilej was appointed Yugoslavia's new Ambassador to the United Arab Republic.

August 2 — President Tito received Tami Vazani, the newly appointed Moroccan Ambassador to Yugoslavia, who presented his credentials.

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS:

The Conference of the Uncommitted <i>Jože Smole</i>	1
Disarmament-Obstacles and Possibilities — <i>Leo Mates</i>	4
The Right of Nations to Self-determination — <i>Dr. Juraj Andrassy</i>	6
International Economic Problems and Uncommitted Countries — <i>Janez Stanovnik</i>	9
On the Preparation of Theses for the New Constitution	11
Social Standard — <i>Berislav Šefer</i>	18
President Tito's Speech in Titovo Užice	20
Some Observations on the Conference of the Uncommitted Countries	21
Official Communiqué on Yugoslav-Italian Talks	25
Official Communiqué on Yugoslav-Soviet Talks	26
Official Communiqué on the Visit of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to Yugoslavia	26
The Algerian Revolution and the Law	29

THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS is a forum of the free exchange of ideas by Yugoslav and foreign authors in the domain of politics and economics.

Articles signed by their authors do not necessarily represent views of the Review:

The Review is published fortnightly in:

Serbo-Croat
English
German
French
Russian and
Spanish